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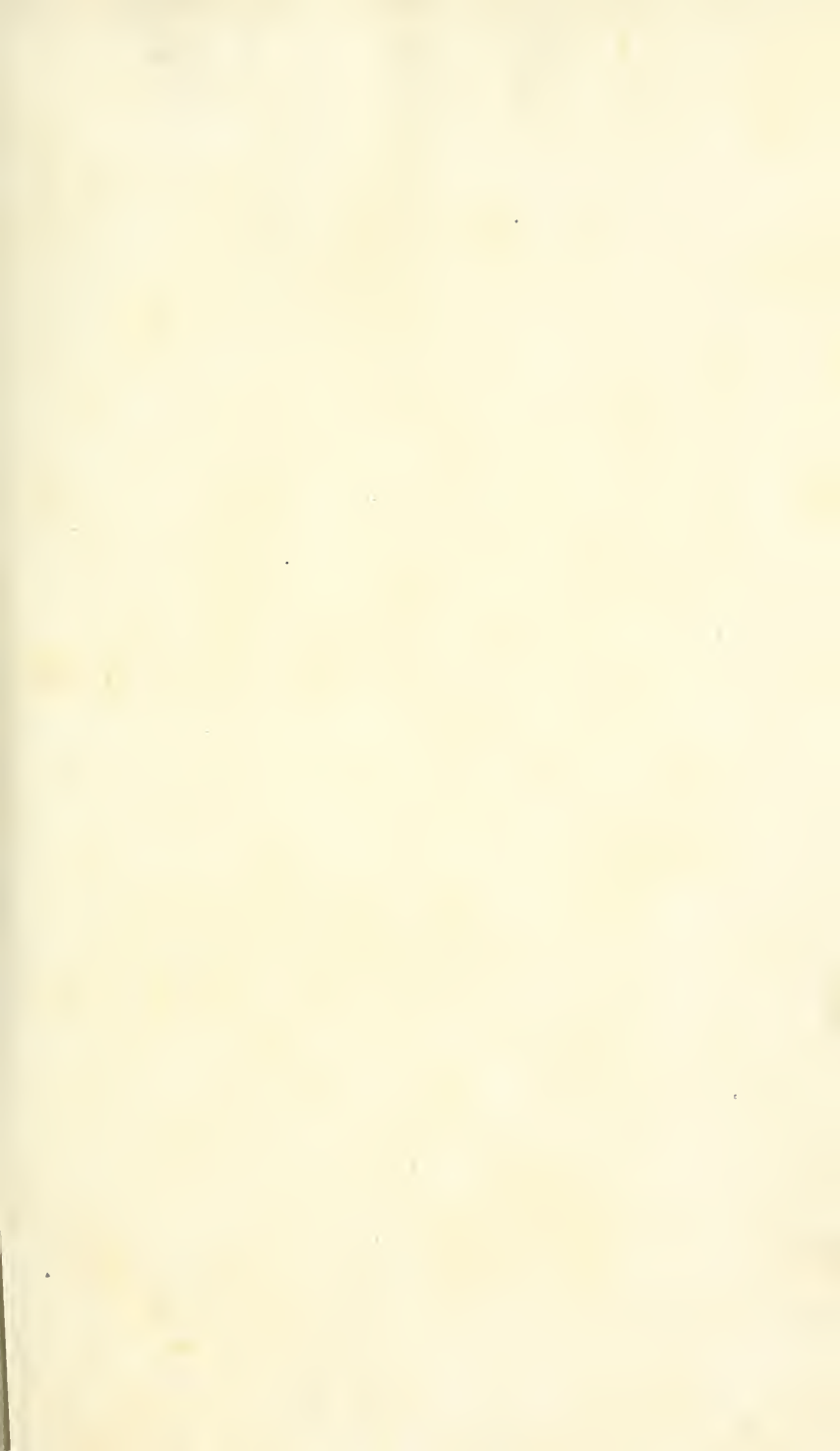


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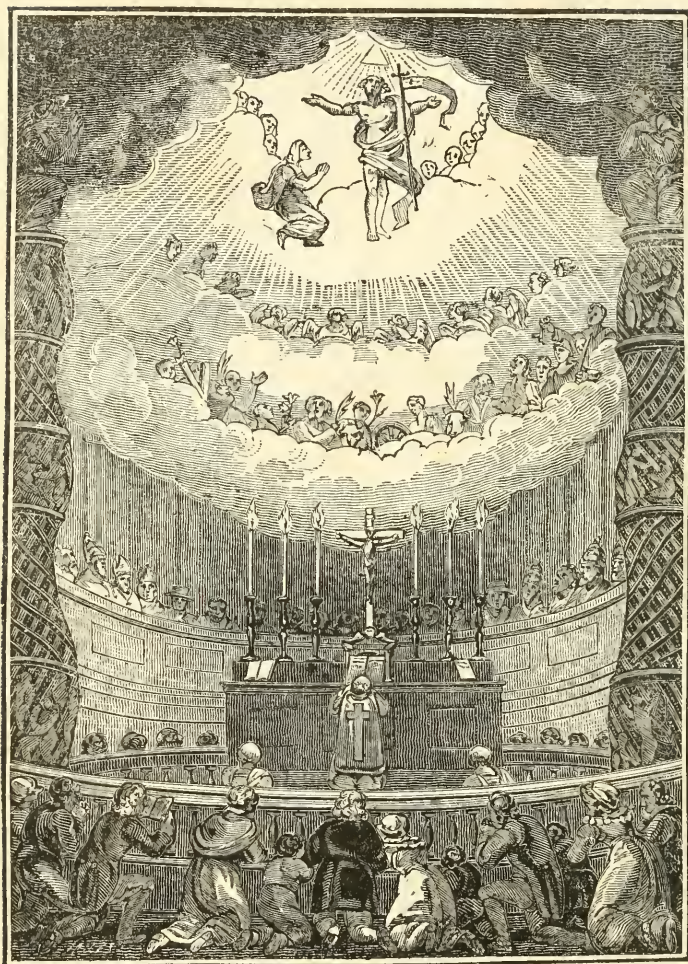


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Frontispiece.

Doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church.



*We praise THEE, O GOD! we acknowledge THEE to be our
LORD! THEE, the Holy Church throughout the whole
world doth confess, the FATHER OF
INFINITE MAJESTY.*

Published by Ambrose Cuddon, 62, Paternoster-row.





A

DEFENCE

OF THE

CHRISTIAN RELIGION, &c.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS

ADDRESSED

TO CHARLES ABEL MOYSEY, D. D.

Archdeacon of Bath.

BY THE RIGHT REV. P. A. BAINES, D. D.

NEW EDITION,

Revised and Corrected by the Author, and embellished with Engravings,
drawn on the Wood by W. M. Craig, Esq.

London:

Printed and Published

By *AMBROSE CUDDON*, 62, *Pater-Noster Row*.

And Sold by all Booksellers in the United Kingdom.

1825.



21
1780
1781
1825

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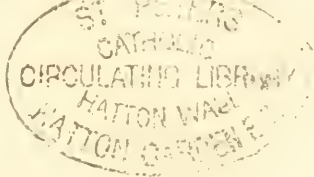
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A DEFENCE

OF THE

Christian Religion.

LETTER THE FIRST.

§ 1.

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VERY REVEREND SIR,

IT is some time ago since I heard, that in a charge to your Clergy, you had made an attack upon the Catholics. This I could readily believe, but I did not expect you would think proper to publish; nor was it till four days ago that your printed charge accidentally fell into my hands. Great was my surprise at reading this extraordinary production. In the eight short pages which you devote to the subject of Catholicity, you represent the religion of the Catholic world as a system of gross idolatry, similar to and as incapable of being defended as paganism itself. You assert it to be a tenet of the Catholic religion, to which many Catholics, particularly clergy, adhere, that faith may not be kept with persons of other religious persuasions. You insinuate that no dependance can be placed upon the most solemn assurances of Catholic laymen, because they are domineered over by their priests, and that these priests are the “sworn and devoted servants of a foreign jurisdiction,” who cannot refuse to act upon the above infamous prin-

ciples, if the good of their church, which, you say, “is a consideration paramount with them,” require them to do it. In short, you inform your clergy and readers, with great affectation of orthodox piety, and great assumption of superior light, that the preservation of the souls of your flocks, the safety of your persons, your liberties and even of the government itself, require, that you declare a holy war against your Catholic brethren: and, you remind your clergy, that their ordination vow, as well as the above important considerations, imperatively oblige them to join you in this new crusade. In the wonder of the moment I could not help saying to myself, “what have the Catholics been doing to Dr. Moysey?” The whole country is at peace; not even an election is preparing; the Catholic Bill is thrown out of parliament and we are doomed to wear our chains a season longer. The Established Church, happy in her triumph, celebrates our defeat with prayers, with dinners, and with toasts, whilst we, “weeping, are turned away.” Why, then, has Dr. Moysey cruelly chosen the present moment for making this severe and unprovoked attack? But why make these vain enquiries? The attack is made. He hints to us that it is dictated by the Spirit of God, and the Spirit, we all know, breatheth “where and when it pleases Him.”

Now, Sir, if some young man, not famed either for the extent of his learning, or the depth of his genius, but who, from the nature of his situation, is compelled, in spite of nature, to preach: if such a young man, anxious to interest his hearers in the best way he could, should, without malice prepense, in some great exigency of the moment, select for the subject of his oratory, that never failing topic of interest to the old ladies and nursery-maids of England, the abuse of the Catholic religion;* though, perhaps, his philippic was uttered beneath the venerable vaults of some magnificent temple, erected by the zeal, the piety and the wisdom of his Catholic forefathers; and though it was, perhaps, from the same source that all the little share of significancy he possesses was originally derived; I could listen to such a man without any other feelings than those of pity, or, at most, of contempt. As much wisdom would not be expected from such a person, no one would attach much consequence to what he might say, and therefore, no great harm would result from his attacks. But when a man of your consequence appears armed against the Catholic reli-

* “*Hæc placuit semel, hæc decies repetita placebit.*”

gion ; when, not satisfied with incessantly cautioning your own flock, from the pulpit, against the alarming dangers of popery, you address a charge, containing a violent and unprovoked attack against your Catholic brethren, to a respectable and learned body of men, the clergy of the Establishment under your jurisdiction ; and, when, not satisfied with addressing such a charge to your reverend brethren, you give this charge to the press for the instruction of the country at large ; under such circumstances to suffer you to pass unnoticed would be imprudent. How many persons, when they hear you accusing the Catholics among whom they live, of sinning against God by habitual idolatry, and against their neighbours by a licensed breach of faith, will not turn back to the title-page of the pamphlet, and, seeing that it is written by CHARLES ABEL MOYSEY, D. D. Archdeacon of Bath, will not say “ surely then all this must be true ? Surely a D. D. and an Archdeacon would not slander and calumniate any one, particularly so numerous and respectable a body of men as the Catholics of this and all other countries. Still less can it be thought that Dr. Moysey, of all men, that dignitary who is so desirous that his reverend brethren should, ‘ display in themselves the beauty of holiness ;’ that ecclesiastical superior whom it is so difficult a task even for his own clergy to satisfy ; that zealous pastor who gives for the edification of his flock and the public at large, so many productions of his genius and his piety ; surely, surely, he is too learned not to know the truth of what he says ; too elevated in station to expose his character to the imputation of falsehood ; and too pious, even if he could slander with impunity, to do so.” Such, Sir, must be the reasoning of many well-meaning persons who will read your charge, and the consequence will naturally be, that the next time they meet me, or any of their Catholic acquaintance, they will think of the odious and disgusting picture you have drawn of our religion and its members, and applying it to ourselves, shun us with suspicion, or fly from us with fear. It is, therefore, necessary to stand forward in our own defence, and, however painful the task may be, repel the accusations you have made against us, leaving your prudence, your zeal, and your piety to provide for themselves as they can.

In the few remarks which I shall make upon your Charge, I shall confine myself to refuting the false accusations you have made against the Catholic religion. It is not my object to attack the Established Church, or its ministers, for many of whom I entertain a high regard, but to defend the religion I

profess against the unprovoked attacks of Dr. Moysey. Should he ever compel me to go farther, I shall regret the circumstance; but confident of the goodness of my cause, and satisfied that I have nothing to fear, either from the talents or the learning of my opponent, I shall not expect to add any new laurels to his brows, or afford any new triumph to the cause he espouses.

You open your attack in the following words. "I need not detain you any longer, my reverend brethren, than in noticing and giving humble and hearty thanks to the Giver of all good, for the deliverance which the Protestant religion has lately received, in the rejection of the proposal for admitting those of the Roman Catholic persuasion to *power* in this land. Far be it from me, far be it from any minister of the most mild and tolerant church in christendom, to wish that unnecessary restraint should be imposed on our brethren. But the preservation of the souls of those over whom the Holy Ghost has made us overseers, requires, imperatively enjoins us to drive away, as our ordination vow has bound us to do, all erroneous and strange doctrines: and, if idolatry be not such, where shall we find the doctrine which is strange to pure religion?" You add in a note, "The nice distinction of *Douleia* from *Latreia*, on which those of the Romish Church defend their adoration of the Virgin Mary and the saints, is too subtle for the simplicity of the word of God. God's own second commandment forbids us altogether to worship or *bow down* in prayer to any other than himself; and forbids also, not less explicitly, any representation of himself and the worship of any such." You go on "The wiser among the heathens never imagined that the image which they worshipped could help them, but used it to awaken their devotion to him whom it represented. Yet such was the origin of all idolatry. Can the Church of Rome make any better plea for itself?"

You really then would have it believed that Catholics are idolaters, as stupid and as guilty as the Pagans themselves. That is you would have it believed that an immense majority of the Christian world is at this moment, and has for ages past been living in a state of damnation. This is rather a harsh decision to come from "a minister of the most mild and tolerant church in christendom!" And what reason do you assign for this sweeping anathema, more severe and more damnatory by far than all the anathemas put together that were ever pronounced by the Catholic Church? It is briefly this: "The nice distinction of *Douleia* from *Latreia*, on which those of

the Romish Church defend their adoration of the Virgin Mary and the saints, is too subtle for the simplicity of the word of God!" May I ask why you employ the word *adoration* to express the respect which Catholics pay to the saints? What authority have you for asserting that Catholics *adore* the saints at all in the proper and ordinary meaning of the word? * Your mention of the words *Douleia* and *Latreia* is a proof that you *know* that we do not profess to *adore*, that is to pay divine honour to the Saints. But the "distinction between *Douleia* from *Latreia* is too nice and subtle for the simplicity of the word of God." I am surprised to hear you make this assertion; first, because I cannot discover any thing nice or subtle in the distinction, and secondly, because the distinction, whatever its character, is just as necessary for the defence of the Protestant as it is for that of the Catholic doctrine. *Latreia* signifies an act of adoration, properly so called, by which we acknowledge our absolute dependence on God, as our Creator and Sovereign Lord. *Douleia* is any act by which we shew respect to a creature, without acknowledging it for a God. Thus, offering sacrifice, or bowing down, with an acknowledgement implied or expressed that the Being to whom we exhibit these acts is our Creator and Sovereign Lord, is *Latreia*, and, if exhibited to any but the one true and living God, is an act of idolatry. But if I bow my head to a man whom I respect for his virtue, or take off my hat when I enter a church, out of respect to the sanctity of the place, but without any intention of adoring either the man or the church, these acts are *Douleia*, and may be exhibited to creatures without the guilt of idolatry, or any other guilt. Now, Sir, it does appear to me that nothing can be more easy or simple than this distinction, or more clearly and completely justify the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church. We reserve *Latreia* for God alone; we pay *Douleia*, and merely *Douleia*, to any of his creatures. In other words we *adore* God alone; but with regard to his creatures, whether they be the Virgin Mother of Christ, or any of the saints; or they be places or things consecrated to the service of God; or they be pictures, statues, or other representations of holy things, we acknowledge it would be idolatry to consider them as gods, and honour them as such; and therefore, whether we bow to them, or kneel before them, or whatever other external act we employ to signify our respect for these things, it is always with a perfect know-

* Adoration.—1st. The external homage paid to the Divinity.—*Hooker*. 2. Homage paid to persons in high rank or esteem.—*Shakspeare*. *Johnson's Dictionary*.

ledge that they are not gods, and with a full determination of mind not to acknowledge or honour them as such. Now I appeal to common sense, whether a man can be guilty of the crime of idolatry without intending it; nay, with a determination of mind on no account to commit it?

But if the respect which we call *Douleia* is idolatry, then the Protestants themselves are guilty of this crime. They are guilty of it when they bow to the name of Jesus: they are guilty of it when they kneel before the sacramental species: they are guilty of it when, in the daily pastime of taking oaths, they reverently kiss the book of the gospel: they were notoriously guilty of it on the day of the coronation, when the whole Protestant hierarchy bowed their right reverend heads and even bent their knees before an earthly monarch; a ceremony which it is thought Dr. Moysey himself would have had no objection to perform: nay, they are still more guilty of it, when, in the absence of the king, all the bishops and peers of the land bow down, or as Dr. Moysey would express it, *adore* the empty throne.

But you say “God’s own commandment forbids us to *bow down in prayer* to any but himself.” According to the Protestant translation of the Bible, God’s own commandment forbids us to *bow down* to any but himself, but it says nothing of *bowing down in prayer*. The Catholic translation of this passage forbids us to *adore* any but one God, which is certainly the true meaning of the original text, and which, had the Protestant translators preserved, you would not have needed to add the words “*in prayer*” to “God’s own commandment.” Your addition of these words is a proof that you acknowledge merely to bow down, without some addition, does not necessarily constitute an idolatrous act. But if an addition to “God’s own commandment” was necessary to explain its meaning, why not adopt the words which the most ancient and approved versions of the scripture suggested to you, and say “*bow down in adoration*” rather than “*in prayer*?”* May I say what I cannot help thinking was your reason? You had undertaken to prove that your Catholic brethren were idolators, and you knew that adding the words “*in adoration*” would not make them such; but you hoped that by slipping in the words “*in prayer*,” some of your readers not noticing this addition to “God’s own command-

* Septuagint—Οὐ προσκυνησεις ἑὸς μὴ λατρευσεις αὐτοῖς.
Vulgate—Non adorabis ea neque coles.

ment," or taking it upon your authority as a legitimate explanation, might suppose that Catholics are idolators, because they pray for the intercession of the saints, and bow to their pictures or statues. But does even *bowing down in prayer* necessarily imply an act of idolatry? Should I be guilty of idolatry if I bowed down to the king and prayed for emancipation from the persecution inflicted on me by the "most mild and tolerant church in christendom;" or from the calumnies and insults of some of its ministers? or is Dr. Moysey guilty of idolatry when he bows and prays to any man, though not of regal dignity, that will sign his name to an anti-catholic petition? It appears to me that neither you nor I can defend the practices of our respective churches, nor our own without the distinction of "*Douleia* from *Latreia*," which, therefore, I trust is not either too nice or too subtle for the simplicity of the word of God.

When I speak, however, of the necessity of distinguishing *Douleia* from *Latreia* for elucidating our doctrines, I speak of the meaning of these words, not of the words themselves. God forbid that any one should imagine that we cannot explain our doctrines, without teaching the people Greek. I have been in the habit for many years of teaching persons of every age, condition and capacity, what is the Catholic doctrine on these subjects, and I have never found any difficulty in making myself perfectly understood, without ever once mentioning such formidable words as *Latreia* and *Douleia*. Indeed, it strikes me that the common catechism, which in England we teach to all Catholic children, contains a full explanation and justification of our practices. As you do not appear to have seen this, or any other authorized work on our religion, I shall present you with the following extract, as well as with a copy of the whole work when I send you this letter.

Question. What are we commanded by the first commandment?

Answer. To believe, hope in, love, and serve, one true and living God, and no more.

Q. What is forbidden by this commandment?

A. To worship false gods or idols, or give any thing else the honour which belongs to God.

Q. What else is forbidden by this commandment?

A. All false religion; all dealings with the devil, and enquiring after things to come, or other secret things, by fortune-tellers, or superstitious practices.

Q. What else ?

A. All charms, spells, and heathenish observations of omens, dreams, and such like fooleries.

Q. Does this commandment forbid the making of images ?

A. It forbids the making of them so as to adore and serve them ; that is, it forbids making them our gods.

Q. Does this commandment forbid all honour and veneration to the saints and angels ?

A. No : we are to honour them as God's special friends and servants, but not with the honour which belongs to God.

Q. Is it allowable to honour relics, crucifixes, and holy pictures ?

A. Yes ; with an inferior and relative honour, as they relate to Christ and his saints, and are memorials of them.

Q. May we then pray to relics or images ?

A. No ; by no means ; for they have no life nor sense to hear or help us."

The same in substance are the decrees of the general Council of Trent, of the catechism addressed by that Council to the pastors of the Church in every part of the world, and of every other approved explanation of the Catholic doctrine.*

Thus it appears that the Catholic Church teaches, as a primary article of her faith, that there is but one God, and that he alone is to be honoured as such. She teaches that to acknowledge as God, and honour as such, any creature, however exalted in dignity, would be the heinous crime of idolatry. Therefore, should any person maintain that it is lawful to pay such honour to the Virgin Mary, or any of the saints, much more to their images and pictures, he would err against the faith of the Church, and cease to be a Catholic. With regard to the kind of honour which is paid to the saints, the Catholic Church teaches us that it must be the same in quality as we would pay to living persons of great virtue, or superior station ; and that the veneration paid to statues or pictures of the saints must be the same as is paid to the pictures or statues of departed relations or friends. If, therefore, Protestants may innocently honour the memory of a virtuous king, a successful warrior, or a wise statesman ; if they may erect statues to their memory, or celebrate the anniversary of their triumphs by public rejoicings, ringing of bells, walking in procession, &c.

* See the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent, Session 25, Catechismus ad Parachos in primum Decalogi præceptum, Bossuet's Exposition de la foi Cath. chap. 4. Roman Catholic principles in relation to God and the King. Section 3. Nos. 12, 13, 14, &c. &c.

why may not Catholics honour the virtues, the triumphs, and the wisdom of the eminent servants of God in a similar manner? If a Protestant may bow his head at the sound of the name of Jesus, why may not a Catholic bow his head, in like manner, at a representation on canvas or in marble of the same Divine Being? The former is a representation to the ear, the latter to the eye: and should a Protestant or a Catholic, in either case, intend to perform an act of adoration, it would not be the empty sound, or inanimate form, they would consider themselves as adoring, but Jesus Christ, of whom that sound or form reminded them.

But you say “the wiser among the heathens never imagined that the image which they worshipped could help them, but used it to awaken their devotion to him whom it represented. Yet such was the origin of all idolatry. Can the Church of Rome make any better plea for itself?”

I presume it cannot be necessary to inform Dr. Moysey, that the term idolatry, which, according to its derivation, means the worship of images, has also another meaning in our language, viz. the worship of false gods, whether through the medium of an image or otherwise. Now the difference between the ancient pagans and the christians in communion with the Church of Rome, is simply this: The former committed idolatry both by paying divine homage to images, and by paying it to false gods. The latter do neither one nor the other. No Catholic ever thinks of paying divine homage to any image whatever; and he believes it in the highest degree criminal to adore any but the one only true and living God. If therefore, any among the heathens, wiser than the rest, neither worshipped images nor any false gods, which it is to be hoped may have been the case, they were not idolaters. Does Dr. Moysey require us to believe that all the heathens as well as all Catholics are damned for idolatry? This is a mild doctrine to which the Catholic Church will never subscribe.

You say that certain passages of scripture, which you quote, forbid the “intercession of the saints and other mediators besides the Lord Jesus.” Here again you add to the sacred text, and would have your own additions pass for the word of God. The passages you refer to teach us indeed that Christ is our only Mediator of redemption, but they say nothing of the intercession of saints. If intercessors of every kind are forbidden by scripture, then does the Archdeacon himself violate the scripture, when, in the conclusion of his charge, he so piously intercedes for his Reverend Brethren.

You seem horrified at the Catholic practice of anathematizing hereticks, which you call “cursing those of your faith.” After your own wide-spreading anathemas against the Christian and heathen world, I should have thought, you would not have ventured to name the comparatively trifling anathemas of the Catholic Church. But can you, Sir, really be so ignorant of Catholic tenets and practices, as not to know that *our* anathemas against hereticks, however expressed, are never intended to fall upon any person, whatever his faith, but such as is *culpably and obstinately* in error? And, Sir, did it never happen to you, in the course of your extensive theological researches, to cast your eyes on the canons which stand at the end of your own folio Common Prayer Book? If so, I am persuaded that your mild and tolerating disposition must have been greatly shocked; for I am much mistaken if either the bull in *Cæna Domini* (which I think you have not read), or all the bulls that ever roared from the Vatican, were half so noisy or unsparing as your own canons, which not only thunder out anathemas against the whole Catholic world, but are aimed with cruel and unnatural severity at all the dissenting children of your own church; that is, at the great mass of the population of Great Britain itself!

“ ————— est injusta noverca.”

§ 2

Refutation of calumnies respecting breach of faith—Decisions of foreign Universities—Of the British Parliament—The oaths of Catholics—The blue books—What evils did the Catholic religion entail in England?—Penal laws—liberty—toleration, and conclusion.

Your charges of breach of faith, &c. are expressed in the following words: "And even that odious sentence, that faith is not to be kept with heretics, though I fully admit that it is disclaimed and abhorred by most of the laity and many of the priesthood, in that communion, yet will they not repeal it by authority, but even yet it stands as a decree of authority in the words of Innocent III." You add, "and so long as infallibility in doctrine be asserted as an attribute of the Pope, I do not see how they can repeal it, nor how they can refuse to act upon it, if the good of their church, which is a consideration paramount with them, shall ever be declared by such infallible authority to require it." These, Sir, are indeed most serious charges: and I readily agree with you, not only that it would be just to exclude persons holding such doctrines from *power* in the state, but that it would be proper to expel them from the country, as beings unworthy of the blessings of civil society, and to expose them as monsters to the general execration of mankind. But if these charges are not true, is it the part of a Christian to make them against his "christian brethren?" Does it become a minister of a religion which teaches "peace and good-will to men" to become the propagator of slanders tending to destroy the peace of society, and separate man from his fellow-man? Is it consistent with the character of a dignitary of the "most mild and tolerant church in christendom," falsely to accuse a large portion of his fellow subjects of holding principles which would justify the severest persecution? Now, I assert, most positively, that the odious charges made against the Catholic religion, in the above passage, are notoriously contrary to truth. It is untrue that it is, or ever was, the doctrine of the Catholic church, that "faith might not be kept with heretics." It is untrue that the Catholic church ever refused to repeal the decree which establishes this doctrine, for no such decree ever existed. It is untrue that this doctrine "stands as a decree of authority in the words of Innocent the third," and if it did, you ought, as

a divine, to know, that it could not, consistently with the doctrines of the Catholic church, lawfully be received or obeyed. It is untrue, that infallibility in the Pope is an article of Catholic doctrine; and it is worse than untrue that “either the good of the church, or the commands of the Pope, or any other consideration whatever, could, by the doctrines of the Catholic church, justify any Catholic in the slightest deviation from moral, religious, or civil duty.* Having thus pleaded *not guilty* to your indictment, I might justly call on you for your evidence, and if you could not substantiate your charges, claim my acquittal, and denounce you, as a man in such cases usually is denounced. But, as you would, perhaps, not condescend to prove your accusations; and, as many well meaning persons may be in the habit of considering your assertions as so many certain, if not *infallible* truths, I shall submit, for their instruction, the following proofs in our favour.

In the year 1788, when the English Catholics were treating with Mr. Pitt respecting a repeal of the penal laws, this minister, aware of the charges usually brought against the Catholics in this country, and wishing to have it in his power successfully to repel them, requested to be furnished with authentic evidence of the doctrine maintained on certain points, by the Catholic clergy and universities abroad. Three questions were accordingly framed and sent, at the same time, to the universities of Paris, Louvain, Alcalá, Douay, Salamanca, and Valladolid, for their opinions. The third of these questions and the answer to it from each of the universities was as follows :

Third Query.

“Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transactions either of a public or private nature?”

University of Louvain.

“Proceeding to the third question, the said faculty of divinity (in perfect wonder that such a question should be proposed to her) most positively and unequivocally answers, that there is not, and that there never has been, among Catholics,

* See the principles of Catholics with relation to God and the king, the Catholic oath of allegiance, or any authorized Catholic course of divinity in existence.

or in the doctrines of the Church of Rome, any law or principle, which makes it lawful for Catholics to break their faith with heretics, or others of a different persuasion from themselves, in matters of religion, either in public or in private concerns.

The faculty declares the doctrine of the Catholics to be, that the divine and natural law, which makes it a duty to keep faith and promises is the same, and is neither shaken nor diminished, if those with whom the engagement is made hold erroneous opinions in matters of religion.

The said faculty strongly protests against the imputation, that the Catholic church has, at any time, held a contrary doctrine. This, she asserts; is a calumny invented and endeavoured to be forced upon Catholics by the worst of men : who, knowing their charges against Catholics were destitute of truth, determined to make falsehood supply its place, and thereby render the Catholics odious to princes and nations."

*Given at Louvain, in an assembly extraordinary, this
18th of November, 1788.*

Here follow the seal and signatures.

University of Douay.

"To the third question the sacred faculty answers, that there is no principle of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics who differ from them in religious opinion. On the contrary, it is the unanimous doctrine of Catholics, that the respect due to the name of God, so called to witness, requires that the oath be inviolably kept, to whomsoever it is pledged, whether Catholic, Heretic, or Infidel," &c.

Signed and sealed in due form, January 12, 1789.

University of Paris,

"The tenet that it is lawful to break faith with heretics, is so repugnant to common honesty and the opinions of Catholics, that there is nothing of which those who have defended the Catholic faith against Protestants, have complained more heavily, than the malice and calumny of their adversaries, in imputing this tenet to them," &c.

University of Alcala.

"So persuaded is the university, that a doctrine which would exempt Catholics from the obligation of keeping faith

with heretics, or any other persons who may dissent from them in matters of religion, instead of being an article of the Catholic faith, is entirely repugnant to its tenets, that she could not have believed it possible there should exist any person who would dare to impute to Catholics any thing so iniquitous, had she not learnt from the things that are written in the sacred Scriptures for our instruction, that the same pharisees who had heard our Lord openly deliver this injunction, “Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars,” afterwards laid this crime to his charge, “We have found this man perverting our nation, and forbidding us to give tribute to Cæsar.” But the devil who had put this into their hearts and moved their tongues to the uttering of such falsehoods, as could induce the Jewish multitude, who considered Christ as a prophet, to cry in a loud voice, “Crucify him, Crucify him,” has never since desisted from perverting others in like manner.

These are the unanimous decisions of this University, after a mature deliberation, in a full assembly of the Doctors, the 17th day of March, in the year of our Lord, 1789.

Signed and sealed in due form.

University of Valladolid.

“Among the articles of the Catholic faith, there is none which teaches that Catholics may lawfully break their faith with heretics, or any persons whatever who dissent from them in matters of religion. The obligation of keeping faith is grounded on the natural law which binds all men equally, without regard to their religious opinions; and with respect to Catholics, it has still greater force, being confirmed by the precepts of the Catholic religion.”

This is the decision of the University of Valladolid, signed by all and each of the professors, on the 17th day of Feb. in the year of our Lord, 1789.

Signed and sealed in due form.

University of Salamanca.

“So far are we from admitting as an article of our religious creed, any tenet which authorizes breach of faith to persons of a different persuasion, that we know that we are frequently admonished by St. Paul, as much as it is possible, to have peace and charity with all men. The natural rights of men

were not intended to be abridged by the law and doctrine of Christ, but to be confirmed and illustrated. Now nothing is more clearly engraven on the minds of men, by the law of nature, than this principle, that, all men, however discordant their religious tenets, are to every intent and purpose, in a state of equality with respect to negotiations, alliances, and compacts, &c.

Signed in the name of the whole University, by the Rector and the six deputed Members. 1789.

The above documents were laid before both houses of parliament, and were instrumental in procuring for the Catholics the relief obtained in 1791. They have been referred to in almost every succeeding discussion on the Catholic claims, and the most violent of our opponents have expressed themselves satisfied with them. "I have heard allusions made this night," said Lord Liverpool, in the debate of 1810, "to doctrines which I do hope no man now believes the Catholics to entertain; nor is there any ground for an opinion that the question is opposed under any such pretence."

In the discussion of the present year, when the most determined efforts were made in both houses to oppose our claims, I do not recollect that even any of our Right Reverend opponents thought proper to bring forward this antiquated charge, which, had it been founded on truth, would have been decisive of the question. Dr. Moysey will, perhaps, have the honor of being the last man in the kingdom to surrender the dear and cherished slander.

The odious doctrine in question, had before been solemnly abjured by the Catholics of this country, in the oath of allegiance prepared for them by the act of 1788. "I do swear that I do reject and detest that unchristian and impious principle, that no faith is to be kept with heretics:" and the same solemn abjuration continues to this day to be made by all the Catholics of the empire, whenever required, with the express consent of all the bishops, and the approbation of the Pope.

The above mentioned decisions of the foreign universities have been published to the world in the parliamentary debates of the period, and subsequently in a great variety of forms. Amongst the rest they were published about a year ago in one of the Bath papers. The oath is in the hands of almost every magistrate, and, I should suppose, of almost every clergyman in the kingdom. It is, therefore, hard to conceive how they

can have escaped the deep researches of Dr. Moysey. But, if he had not felt satisfied with such authorities, ought he not to have made some farther search into the truth, before he accused his Catholic brethren of holding one of the most odious and mischievous tenets that can be held? Might he not, for instance, have asked some of the many Catholic children at their charity schools in this city, if such were the doctrines taught them, and seen the astonishment they would have expressed at his credulity? His neglect to take such precautions, certainly entitles him to the full extent of the compliments paid by the foreign universities to the holders and retailers of such unwarrantable imputations.

“ His saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
Munere————— ”

But, I must not forget the important discovery which you have made in “a book, now become extremely scarce, with the perusal of which you have been favored by a friend. It is commonly known to the Roman Catholics,” you say, “by the name of *the blue book*, and this blue book,” you add, “contains an account of endeavours that were made by the Roman Catholics of England, in a body, in the year 1789, to conciliate and concede some of the most dangerous tenets of their persuasion.” Here again I am really sorry to disturb the pleasure which this important discovery of the blue book seems to give you. In the first place then, I must inform you that there is not any particular book called by Roman Catholics *the blue book*: but a series of pamphlets which happened to be stitched up in blue covers, were by some persons called the *blue books*. The reason of these blue books having become extremely scarce, is no other than that which will make Dr. Moysey’s charge, or this pamphlet, extremely scarce thirty years hence, namely, because no body will, in all probability, think it worth his while to reprint them. These blue books do not contain an account of endeavours of the Roman Catholics of England to *concede* any part of their religious tenets; for no such endeavours were ever made; but they give some account of a public disavowal that was made by the Catholics of England, clergy as well as laity, of certain odious and infamous doctrines, such as, that faith was not to be kept with heretics, which the archdeacons and archfabricators of those and former times, had falsely and calumniously laid to their charge. They also treat of a dispute which took place amongst the Catholics themselves, not about the doctrines which were to be disavowed, but about the wording of an oath in which

this disavowal was proposed to be made. With great ingenuity, you attempt to deduce that the words of Catholic laymen are not to be trusted, because they are tyrannized over by their priests; "with such an instance," you say, "of the absolute supremacy of their priests, of what value are the assurances of laymen!" I will not retort your reasoning upon the laymen of your own communion, but, I must assure you, that if I, or any other Catholic priest, or even bishop, were to attempt such an exercise of authority over our flocks or inferiors, as it is said, truly or untruly, that the Archdeacon of Bath does exercise over his, I do not think we should be quite so successful in our attempt. Of this I am quite sure, that if any Catholic archdeacon should venture to deliver such a specimen of theology, canon law, and logic, to an assembly of Catholic clergymen, as your clergy have requested you to publish, he would, ere this, have been denounced to his bishop or the Pope, and a public retraction, if not dismissal to college to go through another course of these studies, would be the inevitable consequence.

The following animated appeal must not pass unnoticed. "Who," you exclaim, "does not know the evils that arose from the prevalence of that persuasion (the Catholic religion) in old time? They are what no man can deny." This, Sir, is a bold and powerful figure of rhetoric. A man who was less an orator, and had rather less assurance than Dr. Moysey, would have asked his hearers if they were aware that the Catholic religion had been attended with great evils to the country in former times; and, if he had found them ignorant, would have pointed out the evils to which he alluded. But it is much more eloquent and expressive, as well as much easier, to ask, as Dr. Moysey asks, "Who does not know?" and then to answer, that every body does know. I will venture, however, even at the risk of being thought very ignorant, to ask what those evils were which the Catholic religion formerly brought on this kingdom? Not having had the advantage of studying theology in an English university, where this subject appears to be so particularly attended to, nor having ever had the happiness of attending Dr. Moysey's pastoral instructions, which I have been told gives the fullest information on the errors, dangers, and evils of Catholicity, I may, I hope, be excused for making this question. In fact, I have always been taught to believe that the Catholic religion, which was the only christianity in these kingdoms for about a thousand years before Henry the Eighth began his reform, had really

been a blessing to the country. It grieves me to think that none of my unfortunate ancestors were blessed with a true religion before the end of the fifteenth century. It is still more afflicting to think that the religion of my country, previously to that happy era, was not only unattended with benefit, but was productive of evils to the land. But what were the evils which the Catholic religion entailed on these kingdoms? Were they of a temporal or spiritual nature? Did it render our warriors less brave or less successful at the battles of Cressy, Poitiers, or Agincourt? Did it prevent the barons of England from wresting our liberties from the hands of a tyrant, and transmitting them, as a precious inheritance, to an ungrateful posterity? Were the people of England less respected abroad or less happy at home because they were Catholics? Was the country divided, as at present, into an endless variety of jarring sects, condemning and often hating each other on account of religion, which ought to bind hearts together in unity and brotherly love? Did the established religion of those days comprise only about one-fourth of the whole population of the empire, whilst the clergy of that establishment were paid for instructing and assisting all? Were the riches which the Catholic clergy anciently possessed, and which their successors, not finding any *idolatry* in them, have wisely retained, less usefully employed in relieving the country from the burden of poor-rates, than they are at present in providing for the wives and families of modern churchmen? Or were the spiritual wants of the people less zealously and effectually supplied by the Catholic clergy, because, owing to their ignorance of the true meaning of St. Paul, they could not carry about with them a “sister, a wife,” as a helpmate? Was the priest of the old religion less ready to rise from his solitary bed, to carry the consolations of religion to the dying, or less fearless in exposing his life for the same purpose to the infection of contagious disorders? Was less zeal displayed in the erection and ornamenting of churches to accommodate the wants of the people, or were the doors of these sacred edifices less frequently open to receive the fervent adorer, the penitent sinner, or the broken-hearted child of affliction? Or did, perhaps, a greater number of old ladies catch their deaths of cold by encountering the chills and damps of a comfortless old church, the air of which is never breathed but one day in the week?

* ἀδελφὴν γυναῖκα.—I Cor. c. 9.

Catholic translation, “Have we not power to lead about a woman, a sister?”
 Protestant translation, “Have we not power to lead about a sister, a wife?”

Were the bishops less celebrated for their theological decisions in parliament,* or the whole body of the clergy less respected or beloved? In fine, were the morals of the people in general at a lower ebb, than they have been since the charge of promoting them has been committed to other hands?

“But some say,” you add, “that the religion of the Romish Church is changed. What proof can be shewn that such is the case? For the proof lies on them.” Indeed, Sir, we are not at all anxious to prove that our religion is changed. Immutability in the doctrines of faith and morality, we consider as the inseparable character of truth, and therefore we should feel little obliged to any man, who should prove to us that, like other modern religions, ours had also changed. But we have no objection that the *moral conduct* of our people should always continue to change for the better, and we do not think that the Catholics, either of this or other countries, have benefited less by the improving state of learning and civilization than their reformed brethren.

You conclude your philippic with a stretch of good nature, which must, I am sure, have delighted and edified both your hearers and your readers. You say, “I trust, however, that nothing which I have now said will be considered as hostile, in the slightest degree, to the liberties or persons of the individuals of that communion. Individual excellence in moral conduct may be found, without doubt, in very many instances, and in all persuasions; and it were an unjustifiable and an unchristian thing unnecessarily to abridge the liberty of action, and still more of conscience, in any of our brethren. But *power*, not liberty, is the thing which they seek to acquire: for liberty they have in the exemption from all pains and penalties, which once were, I think unduly, inflicted on account of their religious tenets.” Many, very many thanks, mild and tolerant Sir, for your great kindness. Though we are idolators then and faith-breakers, and men upon whose words no confidence can be placed, you would kindly “leave our persons at liberty, nor would you unnecessarily abridge our liberty of action. That is to say, you would no longer compel us, under fine and imprisonment, to leave the religion of our ancestors and go to Walcot Church: you would no longer draw, hang, and quarter us, as traitors, for saying our prayers in our own way; you would no longer punish a Catholic parent for educating his own child, nor disinherit the child for having been so educated. You

* See some late Episcopal decisions on matrimonial contracts and the *impeccability* of the king.

would allow the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Shrewsbury, or any other Catholic peer to ride a horse, value more than five pounds, and to go more than five miles from home.* You *think* that even formerly these and many other severe pains and penalties were unduly inflicted upon us, on account of our religious tenets. This is again very kind, very mild and very tolerant. But alas! is it to be supposed, that we shall meet with the same indulgence from others, who may not have advanced so far in the march of liberality as Dr. Moysey? May not some enthusiast of these days, emulating the zeal of the early fathers of the reformation, reason differently on the premises you have laid down, and act very differently on the conclusions he shall draw? May not some modern Knox deem it a godly work “to exterminate all idolators from the land,” (whom Dr. Moysey has proved to be such)? Or may not another Lord George Gordon, on similar pretexts, again burn our houses and our churches about our ears? Much then as we value your kind indulgence to our imputed errors, we should be much more gratified, if you could make one stretch of liberality farther, and not accuse us of errors which we do not hold, nor of crimes of which we are not guilty.

There is one thing in your reasoning on this subject, which particularly surprises me. You say we enjoy perfect liberty, and ought to be quite satisfied, though we are debarred from almost all public offices of trust, honour, or emolument, which things you denominate *power*. There must be “some nice distinction” in your own mind on which you ground your conclusions, too subtle for ordinary intellects, which the more surprises me, as you expressed a difficulty in understanding the distinction between *Douleia* and *Latreia*, that is between moving my hat to my neighbour and offering sacrifice to God. To me it seems quite clear that if I cannot sit in Parliament because I am a Catholic, nor even vote for a substitute at an election, my liberties are not quite unabridged, and that these restraints and prohibitions are really penalties to me. Would not Dr. Moysey think his liberties and rights abridged, should an act of parliament pass forbidding any man to be archdeacon or a bishop, who would not swear that it was idolatry to wear a clerical hat or a surplice, or that it is superstitious to believe that the Church of England is “the most mild and tolerant church in christendom.” If Dr. Moysey felt in his conscience that he could not take such oaths, would he not think it a

* See the statement of the penal laws against Papists and popish recusants. Paasim.

severe penalty to be shut out on that account from the honourable objects of his ambition.*

To conclude, in the charge before me you have made a violent and unprovoked attack on the religion and characters of your Catholic fellow subjects. In doing this, ignorance, or something worse, has betrayed you into many false statements respecting our religion, and into some unwarrantable accusations against ourselves. Nor is this the first time you have distinguished yourself by the violence of your conduct against us. You have long been observed to press forward amongst the foremost of those, who in their love for liberty and zeal for pure religion, collect together chairmen, if not chairwomen, to petition against the liberties of their fellow subjects, and their christian brethren. What your real motives for such a conduct may be, heaven knows. I will not put upon it the construction which many of your own persuasion do put, and which appearances might perhaps justify; but neither can I bring myself to believe that it is altogether that pure zeal for religion, that anxiety for the souls of your flock, that extreme “love of the beauty of holiness,” in short that deep and sincere conviction of the “great and vital importance” of your exertions, that stimulate your ardent hostility. But whatever may be your real motives, I am surprized that one fact, with which you profess yourself acquainted, does not operate differently on your mind. You say, “while Protestant dissent is regarded as dangerous, as it too certainly is, to that which we esteem the best form of christianity, let us not forget that the faith of the Romish Church is pregnant with far greater dangers. That church is not like the others, an irregular though a large force: threatening every where, but acting with united energy on no one point: it has the principle of strength, which is concentration in itself, and that to a very high degree: and were its hands once untied in this kingdom, to get power within its grasp, we might expect to be convinced of it, though too late, so our cost.”

As far as regards the numbers, the power, and concentration of the Catholic body in the united kingdom, I trust you are not mistaken. We are indeed a great and powerful body in the state, comprising, at least, one fourth, perhaps one third of the population, and daily increasing in numbers and in

* A Catholic cannot even be an excise officer unless he will swear that “he does believe that the *invocation* or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saints, and the sacrifice of the mass, as they are now used in the church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous!” Declaration against Popery.

strength. But, it is not from the Catholics that the Established Church has cause of apprehension. Whilst there is a constitution to support, the Catholics, who founded it, will be amongst the first and most zealous to support it, and as such will be the truest friends to the Established Church, which is founded on the constitution. The real dangers which threaten you are of a far different description. The enormous accumulation of our national debt; the gradual diminution of our internal and external resources; the increasing distress and consequent disaffection of the lower classes to the government; the continued increase of what you, by some ingenious distinction, denominate sectaries, an appalling fact which you admit; and the determined and settled hostility of every class of the latter to the Established Church; these, Sir, are the dangers you have to fear. Heaven grant you may not see the day, when, struggling amidst the ruins of a falling state, and opposed by a force much stronger than your own, you may be too glad of the aid which the Catholic body might then afford you. You would be anxious, no doubt, in those moments "to untie our hands," and if duty to our country required it, I have no doubt we should have principle enough to give you our best assistance. But the hands that have been long shackled may be cramped, and the hearts that should move them may not feel that enthusiasm of gratitude which might be wanted to give success in such a contest, and which they would have felt had liberty been granted under other circumstances. *He* is a good slave who will do his best, when set free, only to encounter danger for a hard master, but *he* is a miraculous slave who will feel and fight in those moments as if his master had been kind. Should a trial like this ever take place, and will any one say it is improbable, the Church of England may have few rewards to bestow, and as little inclination to bestow them on the preachers of charges, the printers of pamphlets, and the collectors of signatures, against the religion, the characters, and the liberties of Catholics.

I shall only add, that, if I have said any thing in the foregoing pages that may sound harsh or severe I am sorry for it. But it is not for you to complain. Remember that you have been the aggressor; and that if *you* deem it necessary for "the preservation of the souls of those whom the Holy Ghost has committed to your care," to prefer false and cruel accusations against your Catholic brethren, it is equally necessary, that *I*, to whose care a portion of the latter is committed by as high an authority, should stand forward in their defence, and hurl

back the charges at him who makes them. I have no feelings of enmity against you, and, had you confined yourself to the quiet duties of your station, I should have been the last person to interrupt or molest you. But, when you descend from the peaceful office of the christian pastor, to become the propagator of mis-statements, and the sower of suspicions, jealousies, and aversions, among those who would be friends, I think it right to express publicly my disapprobation of your conduct, and to use my best endeavours to counteract its effects.

I remain,

Sir, &c.

Bath, August 9, 1821.

P. BAINES.

“ When I unite myself to the general society, the grand community of Christians, the most ancient, the most numerous body, that to which our ancestors belonged, which is spread over the whole globe; which, whatever its enemies may say, has ever remained one and the same; which has sprung from no others, but from which all others have gone out, am I to be considered as guilty of an unpardonable crime? To be a Catholic, my beloved Friends, is not to be superstitious: it is simply to be a Christian, a member of the society of the faithful, united under the same head, professing the same faith, and following the same worship throughout the world: that society, which, wherever you roam, gives you to meet friends and brothers, proffers to you every where the same creed, the same rule of life, the same charitable helps in all your wants and troubles.”

Letter of M. Charles Louis De Haller, Member of the Supreme Council of Berne, to his Family, to apprize them of his Conversion to the Catholic Church, 1821.

§ 3.

Remarks on First Letter.

TO THE BATH PUBLIC,

AND

To the Reader in General.

“Men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved.”—*John* iii. 19, 20.

It will be recollected by many, that in June last Dr. Moysey, Archdeacon of Bath, preached, printed, and published a *Charge*, in which, without any provocation given or cause assigned, he asserted that Catholics are *idolaters*, and that their religion allows them to *break faith with heretics*. He, at the same time, very consistently returned “humble and hearty thanks to the Giver of all good,” that the government had not yet “untied the hands” of such a wicked and dangerous body of men. As a pastor of the Catholics of Bath, I conceived myself called upon to protest against the injustice done to my flock and myself; and this I did shortly after in a Letter to the Archdeacon. It required no great skill to repel an attack so rash and unguarded, and I believe it was generally felt, that the assailant had met with the fate he merited. The Archdeacon was put upon his defence, and a reply was loudly called for by his friends. Some months however passed, and nothing was heard from Dr. Moysey, when, after various advertisements, an *anonymous* pamphlet of sixteen pages, entitled “*Catholicism sifted*,” and containing much more abuse against the Catholic religion, made its appearance. It disappointed all parties, particularly those whose cause it espoused, who continued to cry out more loudly than ever for a defence of the Archdeacon’s Charge. After another delay of some months, a second publication was announced, entitled, “*A Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, in reply to one lately addressed by him*”

to the Rev. Dr. Moysey, Archdeacon of Bath." The writer stated, that "it was not his intention to have obtruded his sentiments upon the public, but as no adequate reply had yet been made to the Rev. P. Baines's Letter to the Archdeacon of Bath, he hoped he might be excused, though late, to answer the statements made in that letter, *which might otherwise be deemed unanswerable.*" This work also was *anonymous*; and one reason which the writer assigned for its being so was, because it subjected him to less reserve: in other words, because it allowed him greater liberty of misrepresentation and abuse. "As I have thought proper," says he, "to send you a letter without a name, so I have taken the liberty to deliver my sentiments without reserve." This letter was signed VINDEX.

Vindex not only renewed the Archdeacon's charge of *idolatry* against the Catholics of the present day, but extended it to the Christian Church in general, during the last thirteen centuries, and moreover endeavoured to prove, that the doctrine of the Established Church required him to do so. He also repeated, in still stronger terms, the accusation of *breach of faith*, asserting, and endeavouring to prove, that consistently with the doctrine of the Catholic Church, "it is lawful to violate the most solemn engagements when made with heretics."

To me it appeared evident, from the variety of style observable in different parts of this pamphlet, that it was written by more hands than one; and such appears to be the common opinion. The materials of which it was composed being either inaccessible to the generality of readers, or in languages which they could not understand, were calculated to impress the uninformed with an idea of deep research, and lead them to conclude that there must be demonstration, though not evident to their minds. There is a pride in man which will often induce him to acknowledge the force of an argument, rather than confess that he does not understand it. In this manner was the pamphlet calculated, and I rather suppose, intended to operate. It was probably also thought, that the multitude of unsupported assertions which it contained, as well as the crowds of quotations from books difficult of access, would render it impossible to reply to it in any reasonable compass, and would probably deter any one from making the attempt. Had the task, however, been more difficult, it would have been undertaken; for I deem it a duty which I owe to my flock, and to religion in general, not to suffer a publication, calculated to injure both, to pass unnoticed. I regret that I have not been able to compress my work into a smaller form, but when it is

recollected, that more assertions may be advanced by a daring writer in one page, than can be answered by another in twenty, no one will wonder that I have been obliged to run into considerable length.

I could indeed have given an answer that would have exculpated *the Catholic religion* in a much smaller space; but I was anxious to convince the public, particularly the well informed, to what unworthy arts the enemies of Catholics can descend, and to what gross misrepresentations the adherents of the ancient religion have been sacrificed, by certain men who have become rich and great at their expence. I have interwoven into the present work, a review of the whole of Vindex's letter, and I now submit my answer to the judgment of the public. I shrink from no inquiry. I only request, should this work be answered, that I may have the satisfaction of knowing my antagonist. It is unfair that I should be exposed to the arrows of enemies who lurk in darkness, and who can receive no injury themselves, whatever unfair or unhandsome means they employ against me. And surely an Archdeacon of the Established Church, with such a host of learned and zealous clergymen at his back, cannot find it necessary to employ any artifice against a single Catholic priest, who has neither power, wealth, nor title to support him.

I hope also, that the question will not be shifted, but that the accusation of *idolatry* and *breach of faith* will either be fairly defended or candidly surrendered. Not that I shall decline the contests on other points. If a respectable antagonist, with a name, thinks it will answer the purpose of the Established Church, to bring any other doctrine of our religion into discussion, I shall not shrink from a contest in which I can fear nothing. I have no inducement to espouse the Catholic religion, but a conviction of its truth? and every inducement to abandon it, if its falsehood can be proved. But I will not engage myself to stand any longer merely on the defensive. I will, if I deem it necessary, carry the war into the enemy's country; and I shall fully expect in this case, to find as much occupation for my assailants, as they have given to me.

I shall only add at present, that if, upon perusing this work, it shall appear evident, that the Catholic religion has been grievously misrepresented by a clergyman of high respectability, and by two anonymous writers, the public will be convinced that not every thing which they hear, even from the pulpit, much less from the press, must be considered as gospel; and that when they next meet with similar grievous accusations

against the Catholics (and I am told there are other pulpits in this city which love to make them), they will do us the justice not to condemn us unheard, but either refuse their assent to the charges, or make further inquiry from our books or ourselves. This is a proceeding which common prudence dictates to avoid the sin of rash judgment. I can only say, that I shall always be ready to afford any assistance, to the candid inquirer, that is in my power. To the reader I recommend the following works:—The First, or Douay Catechism; The Poor Man's Catechism; The Catechism of the Council of Trent: In controversy—The Grounds of the Old Religion; Gother's Sincere Christian's Guide in the Choice of Religion; Fletcher's Catholic's Manual and Sermons; Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, and End of a Religious Controversy; Lingard's Tracts. In morality—The Imitation of Christ, by Thomas a Kempis; The Spiritual Combat; The Introduction to a Devout Life, by St. Francis de Sales.

These books will give a much more correct knowledge of the Catholic Religion than Archdeacons' Charges and anonymous Pamphlets.

* Sold by the publisher hereof.

BOSWELL—"What do you think of the Idolatry of the Mass?"

JOHNSON—"Sir, there is no idolatry. They believe God to be there, and adore him."

BOSWELL—"The Invocation of Saints?"

JOHNSON—"They do not worship the Saints; they invoke them; they only ask their prayers."

Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. i. page 561. 2d edit.

"Is it possible that any man can be found bold enough to say of three-fourths of the inhabitants of civilized Europe, that they are not to be believed upon their oath. The existence of any such maxim supposes gross ignorance and barbarism in the people among whom it prevails. Every enlightened mind, every man who wishes well to his country, must treat it with scorn and indignation."

Speech of Mr. Fox on the Catholic Petition, 1805.

LETTER THE SECOND.

§ 1.

Remarks on former Letter.

VERY REVEREND SIR,

IT was with great reluctance that I addressed to you my former letter and it is with still greater that I address this. The laborious duties of my profession leave me little time for writing pamphlets, and if I had ever so much leisure, religious controversy is not the subject on which I should wish to employ it. To the public in general, no subject is more uninteresting; to a person in my situation none is more unpropitious. Those persons who are indifferent about religion (and the number of such is not small) look upon the disputes of theologians as something very much beneath their notice; the *enlightened* part of the religious community think all contention about the difference of creeds the effect of bigotry or narrowness of mind and the great majority of those who in this country interest themselves about the differences of religious belief, are strongly prejudiced against the system which it is my lot to defend. In such a contest, therefore, I anticipate little personal advantage and much personal loss. I expect to be denominated a trifler by some, a bigot by others, and perhaps by many a lover of dispute, while few will properly appreciate either my labours or my motives. Of all this I was fully aware before I addressed to you my first letter, and I was fully prepared for any reflections which persons of different intellects or different prejudices might think proper to cast upon me.

One thing, however, has fallen to my lot which I did not anticipate. I have been charged with having made upon Dr. Moysey a *personal attack*, and of treating my adversary with too great severity. Now, I distinctly stated in my former letter, and the fact has not been denied, that it was Dr. Moysey, not I, who made the attack, and that I acted merely on the defensive, repelling some of the most violent, most mischievous, and most odious charges that ever were preferred. This attack of Dr. Moysey was directed against Catholics in general, but might be expected to operate particularly against

the Catholics of Bath, whom it stigmatized as idolators, as persons who are tyrannized over by their priests, and who thought themselves at liberty, consistently with the tenets of their religion, to violate every engagement which they might enter into with persons of other religious persuasions, that is, with the generality of those with whom they have dealings. Nor was this all. Throughout the whole of his dissertation, the Archdeacon studiously endeavoured to throw a particular odium on the Catholic Priesthood, as if he feared that some of his readers might not conceive for us that special abhorrence, to which, as teachers of the above doctrines, we were by inference entitled.* As far as I was personally concerned, I could have treated the imputations with the same dignified contempt I am often obliged to feel for the circulators of religious tracts and the anonymous retailers of anti-Catholic slander. But I could not suffer any man, however high or however low, to injure with impunity a respectable, and, to my knowledge, virtuous body of men, who were committed to my care and who had a right to look to me for protection. I, therefore, undertook their defence. In doing this, I endeavoured, as much as possible, to confine the substance of my reply to the person of my aggressor, and to restrain myself, whenever I could do it, to the *argumentum ad hominem*. I did not wish to give offence to Protestants in general, among whom I am happy to have many valued friends, both clergymen and laymen. I did not consider it fair to repel the attack of an individual by turning my arms against the whole body to which he happened to belong. I did not consider his fault as that of his religion. I attributed it to his particular turn of mind, or to the particular situation in which he was placed, which under any system of religious belief, would probably have led him to a similar conduct. In short, I did not consider Dr. Moysey as the authorized champion of the Established Church. I rather considered him a venturesome and thoughtless combatant, who, mistaking prejudice for truth or promotion for skill, stepped forward from his ranks to offer single combat, if not contrary to the orders, at least without the sanction of his commanding officers. Indeed, I cannot think that the head of his Church, our gracious and beloved sovereign, would wish any of his clergy to annoy and insult his Catholic subjects, at a time when *he* is endeavouring, with a condescension equally gracious, conciliatory, and wise, to soothe their feelings and alleviate their sufferings.

* Dr. Moysey's Charge *passim*.

I admit, therefore, that my letter was *personal*. It was in answer to a *personal attack*. But I again repeat that it was not an attack. I confined myself to the refutation or denial of the false accusations advanced against my flock and myself. Dr. Moysey had accused us of idolatry and breach of faith. I stated, as a divine, the doctrines of our church, referring for proof of the accuracy of my statement, to the catechisms we teach, to the acknowledged decrees of our general councils, to the recent decisions of our foreign universities, to the public and repeated acquittal of the great council of the nation, and to the solemn oaths approved by the Pope and taken by the whole Catholic body in this kingdom. There is nothing either in the substance or style of my letter of which I can repent. My statements were true, my language was not ungentlemanlike, and it could not, I conceive, be too severe. I am aware that my letter was not written in the style in which the controversial works of Catholics have, of late years, usually been composed. It required some time for the Catholic body to shake off that timidity which a long period of savage persecution had made natural to them. The slave, inured to long subjection and fear, retains vestiges of his servility even after he is set free. From the reign of Elizabeth, till the early part of his late Majesty's reign, the Catholics of this country were a proscribed and degraded race, whose property, liberty, and lives, constantly lay at the mercy of every enemy who might chuse to enforce against them the rigour of the penal laws. When a man is thankful that he is allowed to breathe, he will think little of slander or abuse. Hence, in those times, if Catholics dared to make any reply to the attacks which the favoured race thought proper to make upon them, it was usually with that diffidence and fear which a dependant uses towards a tyrannical master who has in his hands the power of life and death. Had this state of things continued till the present day, I should probably have thought as little of being called an idolater, or a perjurer, as Dr. Moysey thinks of calling me such. But thanks to the mercy of a kind Providence, and the humanity of a virtuous king, those days of grief and terror have passed away, and though we still wear some badges of our former slavery, though "*our hands*," as Dr. Moysey expresses it, are not yet "*untied*,"* we are at least allowed to breathe the common atmosphere, we may speak with freedom, and write if we can.† We moreover behold in the resistless

* Charge, page 18.

† I omit the word chains, as Vindex objects to it, and will employ Dr. Moysey's

change of public opinion in our favour, and in the spreading antipathy of all parties to religious persecution, as well as in the daily increase of our own strength and importance, contrasted with the daily defection from the ranks of our enemies, how impossible it is that we can again be enslaved, and how certain it is, in spite of every pang felt and every effort made by the patrons of intolerance, that we must, ere long, be perfectly free. Such are my feelings and convictions, and when I write I must write accordingly. I can no more divest myself of the feelings of pity or contempt for the man who slanders my religion, than I can of my conviction of its truth.

I say of pity or contempt: for many of those who slander the Catholic religion in these days, ought to be pitied, not despised. The unlettered field preacher, who mistakes the cravings of hunger for the calls of heaven; and the aged of both sexes, whose minds were fashioned under a former system, and are become too rigid to enlarge with the times, may justly excite our commiseration, when they rave against the *errors of popery*, or caution the rising generation against the *children of Anti-christ*. But when a gentleman of academical education, when a theologian in the highest degree of the profession, when a dignitary of the Established Church of England, puts on the rusty armour of antiquated bigotry, and offers himself the leader to vulgar intolerance, a Catholic clergyman may surely be excused if he feel indignant, and express in forcible language his dissatisfaction and regret. Against Dr. Moysey personally, I again repeat it, I have no enmity. There are many reasons which would make me respect him, and wish to be on amicable terms with him. I venerate his activity in the discharge of his pastoral duties; I respect the zeal he shows in defending the religion he professes. Religious indifference is inconsistent with a conviction of religious truth, and incompatible with charity, the leading virtue of the christian profession. I only regret, that for defending his own religion, or for any other motive, he should violate the sacred virtue of truth, and grossly misrepresent the religion of his neighbours. The man who will let himself down to injurious misrepresentation, can have no right to complain of uncereemonious treatment. This is my view of the subject; this is my excuse, if excuse be necessary, for any strong language I may have used in my former letter, or may use in this.

On the present occasion I conceive I have additional cause

idea of *handcuffs* instead; unless I should, hereafter, show cause why I prefer the more classical figure of *chains*.

cause to complain. Had Dr. Moysey thought himself able to substantiate his charges and answer my letter, why did he not do it openly, and in his own name? Or, if he thought the work beneath his personal notice, why did he not request some of the clergymen who heard his charge, who approved it and requested him to publish it, to answer in his name, and under his avowed sanction? Why does he employ the underhand services of anonymous writers, who, having no reputation to lose, can descend with impunity to the lowest personal abuse, as well as to the most pitiful misrepresentations? Or why, if he does not actually hire the pens of these nameless auxiliaries, does he not protest against their officious aid? He must surely be aware that the public opinion cannot help ascribing to him the defence written in his favour, which he does not disavow, and that he must be considered responsible for the injustices committed by those who wage his warfare unheeded and unrestrained. Such is my view of the case, and therefore I make no apology for addressing to Dr. Moysey himself the answer to his defenders; and I wish it to be distinctly understood, that I do not consider myself as entering into contest with the anonymous writers above mentioned, who as such, and probably on other accounts, are beneath my notice, but with the Archdeacon himself, whose rank and character entitle him to the attention I shall pay to him.

§ 2

STATEMENT.

Dr. Moysey not required by his religion to make this attack.—Doctrine of the thirty-nine articles and book of Homilies.—Change of doctrine in the Church of England.—Doctrine of the Catholic Church and of the Church of England at the present day, on the subject of images, not materially different.—Customs abroad often misunderstood by English Travellers.

One of these anonymous writers attempts to justify the harshness of Dr. Moysey's charges, by alledging, that "the language of the church to which he belongs (in the thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Homilies, is not a whit more polite."* But I have always understood, that the established clergy do not conceive themselves bound to believe, much less to defend, all the doctrine of the thirty-nine Articles; nor had I till now the least suspicion, that the Book of Homilies constituted a part of their creed. It is true that James the First, in his declaration prefixed to the thirty-nine Articles, protested "that he would not endure any varying or departing from them in the slightest degree; and that no man, hereafter, should either print or preach to draw the article aside any way, but should submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof, and should not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the article, but should take it in the literal and grammatical sense." But even if this royal bull, which appears to me to overthrow at once that happy freedom of opinion purchased at the Reformation, by the separation of England from the great body of Christians, was ever submitted to at all, it only proves what was the doctrine of the Established Church in the days of King James, not what it is now. In those days of primitive fervour, when the Church of England had lately passed the Red Sea, and the breasts of her children still glowed with gratitude for their deliverance from the slavery of Egypt, many things might be believed and submitted to, which in cooler days were found altogether incredible and inadmissible. Hence, an Archdeacon of our own times, whose opinion I believe ranks quite as high

* Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, by Vindex, page 11.

as that of the Archdeacon of Bath, boldly controverts the royal decision, and wonders how any one can suppose that they, who subscribe to the thirty-nine Articles, can be expected to believe them. "They who contend," says Paley, "that nothing less can justify subscription to the thirty-nine Articles, than the actual belief of every separate proposition contained in them, must suppose that the legislature expected the consent of ten thousand men, and that in perpetual succession, not to one controverted proposition, but to many hundreds. It is difficult to conceive how this could be expected, by any one who observed the incurable diversity of human opinion, upon all subjects short of demonstration." He decides, therefore, that the intent of the legislature in requiring subscription to the thirty-nine Articles, was only to exclude from offices in the church, Papists, Anabaptists, Puritans, and other persons dangerous to the establishment, and consequently, that any man not comprehended in these descriptions, and believing that he can lawfully subscribe the Article in this sense, may do it.*

But supposing that the faith of Dr. Moysey did not require the charitable relief which his very reverend brothers so kindly offers him, and that he really believes the whole of the thirty-nine Articles, or at least the damnatory and anti-catholic ones, still there could surely be no necessity for his believing or maintaining *more* than these Articles teach. Now the article referred to by Vindex merely characterizes "*the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration as well of images and reliques, and also invocation of saints, as a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God;*" in which condemnation of our doctrine, there is a certain diffidence and reserve. But Dr. Moysey and his friends spurn the timid phraseology of the Articles, and adopt in preference that of the Homilies. Our doctrines with them are plain idolatry, similar to that of the Pagans, who worshipped Apollo, and to that of the Israelites, who worshipped the golden calf.†

But though Dr. Moysey and his friend Vindex may deem it laudable in a clergyman of the Established Church to adopt the doctrine and the language of the Book of Homilies, I am very sure that such is not the opinion of the established clergy in general. I am very sure that the generality of them are

* Moral and Political Philosophy. chap. 22.

† Charge, page 13. Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, page 32.

much too liberal, as well as too delicate minded, to admit the doctrines, or utter the language, of that flimsy, violent, and scurrilous work. I doubt whether even Dr. Moysey or his friends would not think the following description of the Catholic Church rather too highly coloured, and hesitate before they complied with the royal injunction, in reading it to their congregations. Reader, peruse the passage *in silence*, and judge for thyself. “Now, concerning excessive decking of images and idols, with painting, gilding, adorning with precious vestures, pearl, and stone, what is it else, but for the further provocation and enticement to spiritual fornication; to deck spiritual harlots most costly and wantonly; which the idolatrous church understandeth well enough. For she being, indeed, not only an harlot (as the scripture calleth her), but also a foul, filthy, old, withered harlot (for she is indeed of ancient years), and understanding her lack of natural and true beauty, and great loathsomeness which of herself she hath, doth, after the custom of such harlots, paint herself, and deck and tire herself with gold, pearl, stone, and all kind of precious jewels, that she, shining with the outward beauty and glory of them, may please the foolish fantasy of fond lovers, and so entice them to commit spiritual fornication with her; who, if they saw her (I will not say naked) but in simple apparel, would abhor her as the foulest and filthiest harlot that ever was seen; according as appeareth by the description of the garnishing of the great strumpet of all strumpets, the mother of whoredom, set forth by St. John in his Revelation, who by her glory provoked the princes of the earth to commit whoredom with her; whereas, on the contrary part, the true church of God, as a chaste matron, espoused, as the scripture teacheth, to one husband, our Saviour Jesus Christ, whom alone she is content to please and serve, and looketh not to delight the eyes or fantasies of any other strange lovers or wooers, is content with her natural ornaments, not doubting, by such sincere simplicity, best to please Him, who can well skill of the difference between a painted visage and true natural beauty.”*

Yet this is the book of which Vindex says “the charge of criminality for the use of such language, if it will lie, should rather be brought against the church herself than the individual members of it.”† Be it so. Still from my heart do I pity

* Third part of the Homily on the peril of Idolatry.

† I really must apologize to the reader for quoting such a passage. It is not, however, the worst of the kind, and I felt convinced that no one could possibly, without an actual quotation, form a correct idea of the character of the book which

the man, who can utter the language of the Book of Homilies without a blush, or submit to it as a book of authority without a pang.

I say submit to it as a book of authority. For, on the subject of images, as well as on many others, the doctrine of the Book of Homilies is as extravagant as its language is violent, and utterly at variance with that of the Established Church at the present day. That book condemns not only the worship of images, but even the making or having them either in churches or elsewhere, as things entirely repugnant to scripture, as leading unavoidably to idolatry, and as deserving of death.

“ Where they say that images, so they be not worshipped, as things indifferent may be tolerated in temples and churches, we infer and say for the adversative, that all images of God, our Saviour Christ, and his Saints, publicly set up in churches and temples, places peculiarly appointed to the true worshipping of God, be not things indifferent, nor tolerable, but against God’s law and commandment, taking their own interpretation and exposition of it.

“ First, for that all images, so set up publicly, have been worshipped of the unlearned and simple sort, shortly after they have been publicly so set up, and in conclusion, of the wise and learned also.”

“ Secondly, for that they are worshipped in sundry places, now in our time also.”

“ And thirdly, for that it is impossible that images of God, Christ, or his Saints, can be suffered (especially in temples and churches) any while or space, without worshipping of them ; and that idolatry, which is most abominable before God, cannot possibly be escaped and avoided, without the abolishing and destruction of images and pictures in temples and churches, for that idolatry is to images, specially in temples and churches, an inseparable accident (as they term it), so that images in churches and idolatry go always both together, and that, therefore, the one cannot be avoided except the other, specially in all public places, be destroyed. Wherefore to make images, and publicly to set them up in temples and churches, places appointed peculiarly to the service of God, is to make images to the use of religion, and not only against this precept, ‘ *Thou shalt make no manner of image,*’ but against this also, ‘ *Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.*’

Vindex mentions with so much honour, and which was certainly at one time a book of authority in the Established Church, and still stands approved in the thirty-nine articles.

For they being set up, have been, be, and ever will be worshipped.”*

“ Nevertheless, they that love such evil things, they that trust in them, they that make them, they that favour them, and they that honour them, are all worthy of death,”† and so forth.

And here I may be allowed to remark, that I have often wondered how Protestant controvertists can still continue to use the language of the early Reformers, which so severely condemns themselves. It would really appear as if, whilst they copy one after another the accusations of former times, they forgot to notice, that in the meanwhile their own Church had actually come round again to the very doctrines they are condemning. This appears to me to be the case with Dr. Moysey and his friends. They surpass the thirty-nine Articles, and rival the Book of Homilies in the violence of their accusations against Catholics on the subject of pictures and images. Again and again they repeat, that we worship images, and that we are idolaters. But to what particular observances do they allude when they make these charges? I have turned in my mind the whole of our doctrine and practice on the subject in question, and I really cannot discover in what they materially disagree with those of the Established Church at this day.

I grant that when the Book of Homilies was written, from which and similar productions, it is probable that Dr. Moysey and his friends unthinkingly copied their charges, there was a mighty difference between us. A holy horror of pious representations seems to have seized upon the nation in the early periods of the reformation. The ministers of Edward the Sixth gave the intelligible hint;‡ the pious Book of Homilies sounded the trumpet, and an army of inspired men fell to dismantling and disfiguring the churches through every part of the kingdom. Images and pictures were broken or burnt, altars were demolished, the rich basso-relievo of the sculptured altar screen was defaced or covered over with rude pan-

* Third part of the Homily against the peril of Idolatry.

† First part of the Homily against the peril of Idolatry.

‡ The Protestant historian, Dr. Heylin, admits that the real motive for taking down the altars and images in the English churches was “ avarice, not zeal, there being no images so poor and mean the spoil thereof would not afford some gold and silver (if not jewels also), besides censers, candlesticks, &c.” [Hist. of the Reformation, pages 56, 94, 3d edit. 1674.] Have our modern opponents any similar motive in view? Or are they, after a lapse of nearly three centuries, still the dupes of those unprincipled politicians?



nels of oak. The angel or seraph which supported the springing arch, or broke the slender column, was sure to lose a head or a nose, to show that the enlightened authors of its scars, if they suffered it to remain in the church at all, had no intention to respect it. The cross, which for ages had risen pre-eminent, whether on the gable end of the neat parish church, or on the loftiest summit of the gorgeous cathedral, was hurled down to the ground and trampled under foot. Scarce a monster in stone, which spouted the rain water from the church roof, remained unsuspected of its claim to idolatry, and full often was it rendered less useful, as well as less ornamental, for fear it should rob God of his glory, and share with him the honours of his temple.

But this was only a temporary frenzy, too violent to last long, and too ridiculous to make any serious impression on the

minds of rational men. Scarcely had the churches undergone the work of spoliation, when the authors of the mischief wondered they could have been such barbarians. They would have retraced their steps and repaired the havoc they had made, but the people had been inspired with a panic which could not easily be allayed, and they who had opened the flood-gates of enthusiasm, found themselves carried away by the inundation. It required time to dis sever in the minds of the multitude the ideas of images, idolatry, and popery, which had been united together, by a magical association, into one great object of terror.

The work, however, was gradually effected, as occasion offered and the returning influence of common sense allowed. It was determined, at the expence of the nation, to erect one Protestant cathedral. The fine old gothic church of St. Paul's was blown up with gunpowder, and the new fabric, resting on Grecian columns, raised its majestic head above all height in the midst of the metropolis of England. On this proud eminence the Protestant architect dared, in the midst of a wondering and trembling people, to erect the discarded standard of christianity, the saving cross, which for a considerable time had found a refuge only amongst the Catholics. Nor was this all. Crowds of colossal apostles and saints were invited to resume their ancient station, to crown the rich facade, and encircle the walls of the majestic temple. That the interior might correspond with the exterior, the splendid dome exhibited, throughout the whole of its vast expanse, the pictured history of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. Thus was a public and satisfactory apology offered to religion for the outrages of past times, and a full retraction made of those wild and fanatic principles which had given so great scandal, and caused such irreparable havoc in the churches of England.

But in returning from one extreme, men generally run into another. The cathedral of St. Paul's still continues to be ornamented with *graven images*, and with such as would scarcely be permitted in a Catholic church. Pagan gods and goddesses, of exquisite sculpture and colossal stature, are seen in company with Protestant heroes and sages, representing the virtues for which the latter were celebrated, and holding them up to the admiration of posterity. I know very well there is no danger of idolatry in this. An Englishman is much more likely to deface an image, whatever its merits or whatever its subject, than to adore it. But I do think, with all due deference to the contrary opinion of the Book of Homilies, that

if the second commandment forbids the placing of any images in churches, it is rather those of the Pagan deities than of Christ and his Saints.

The example of St. Paul's was gradually followed by other churches, and is now become almost general. Though the decree of Edward the Sixth, ordering all altars to be removed out of churches, as implying the popish doctrine of sacrifice, and being therefore superstitious,* has never been repealed, every church now must have its altar and altar-piece. Apostles, evangelists, prophets, and all the inhabitants of heaven, are seen, as occasion may dictate; sometimes as separate figures, sometimes as forming a part of a scriptural group. Even the different persons of the sacred Trinity, which Vindex and the Book of Homilies hold in such special horror, are constantly found in the Churches of the Establishment. Thus, in the city of Bath, God the Father is seen seated on his throne in the summit of the western front of the Abbey-Church, remaining from Catholic times. From the appearance of the niche, I think it probable that the other two Persons have formerly accompanied him. But at all events, in the modern altar-piece, placed in the same church by Protestant hands, is seen the picture of God the Son, accompanied by the Virgin Mother and St. Joseph; and in Dr. Moysey's church is seen that of the Holy Ghost, in the form of a solitary dove, glowing in bright colours over the communion table. In other places is found the representation of the whole Trinity, in one emblematical triangle. So perfect appears to be the agreement between the Established and the Catholic Church on this subject, that we are constantly in the habit of copying from each other. Thus the altar-piece in the Abbey-Church is a copy of the painting which happened to be the altar-piece in the first Catholic Church I ever saw abroad; while the two statues of St. Peter and St. Paul, lately erected in the Catholic Chapel in this City, were actually suggested by duplicates of the same figures, erected by Protestants in the Abbey-Church. If there be any difference between us, it is that *we* are rather more sparing of such ornaments than our Church of England brethren, and that we should not easily admit the figures of gods and goddesses into our churches. It very frequently happens in this country, that a small crucifix, which together with two or more candlesticks is a regular article of furniture for the altar, is the only piece of sculpture in a Catholic chapel.

* Heylin's History of the Reformation.

Indeed, I rather think that the two figures of the apostles lately erected in the Catholic chapel of this city, are nearly, if not quite, the only *statues* to be found in any Catholic place of worship in England; and I am quite convinced that there are not so many Catholic statues in the whole kingdom, as have been erected by Protestants in the Abbey-Church of Bath alone. With regard to pictures, it seldom happens that we have more than a single one over the altar, and even this is often wanting.

With respect to the honour paid to the representations of holy persons and things, the difference between us is scarcely greater. That the Established Church considers such objects deserving of a certain respect, is evident from the situations in which she places them, which is, generally, the most honourable and most conspicuous, as well as the most sacred in the church. Even the act of *bowing*, which Vindex considers equivalent to worship, is paid by Protestants to the altar, on certain occasions, nay, even to the king's throne; and, as there may be a painting attached to the former, and as there are certain figures of lions, unicorns, &c. attached to the latter, these sculptured or painted likenesses must partake, at least, *per accidens* as St. Thomas would express it, of the honour paid to the objects of which they form a part.*

Now, I am not aware that more than this is required of Catholics by the general rules of the Church, or practised by them in this country. The Catholic Church positively forbids that any statue or picture be considered or honoured as a god, or with any portion of the honour belonging exclusively to the Deity;† but she permits, rather than enjoins, such other external marks of respect, not interfering with the worship due to God, as the usages of different places or times may authorize or have authorized. In England I do not remember any mark of respect which is paid by Catholics to images or pictures, except that of bowing to the crucifix placed upon the altar when we pass before it. But that this act is not intended for the material object itself, is manifest, from these circumstances:—1st. That if the crucifix be removed from the altar, we bow to the altar just the same as if the cross were upon it; and, in this case, we should not bow to the crucifix though it were standing

* In the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical of the Established Church, published in 1640, it is declared to be a *pious, profitable, and primitive custom* to bow to the communion table both at coming in and going out of the church.—See Sparrow's Collection, Can. VII.

† Council of Trent, Session 25.

near the altar. But, should the altar itself be removed out of its place, for the purpose of making repairs, or for any other reason, we should no longer bow to it. In like manner, the king and the bishops, during the ceremony of the coronation, bowed to the altar in Westminster Abbey; but had any of them gone into the church when the ceremony was over, they would not, I conceive, have bowed to the altar. During a state trial, also, the lords, on entering the house, bow to the king's throne, but not at other times; nor would they do it then if the throne was removed from the position which is allotted for it. It is, therefore, manifest, that the ceremony of bowing to the altar, as used by Catholics and Protestants, is precisely of the same nature. Neither the former nor the latter consider these material objects themselves as deserving of the respect they pay them; but, we are directed to exhibit towards them these external acts, under circumstances where they more particularly remind us of the object in whom our respect terminates. When the altar stands in the place where sacrifice is offered upon it to God, we honour it as the throne of God, or rather we honour God in the presence of his altar; and in like manner, when the king's throne is so placed and circumstanced, as to represent, more strikingly, the royal person, it then receives the accustomed mark of respect, which terminates in the king, or rather, as before, the king himself receives the mark of respect paid to him absent, in the presence of his throne.

Vindex, however, mentions an act of respect, or, as the ancient languages express it, adoration, which is paid to the cross in the service of Good Friday. This act I shall afterwards explain. At present I shall merely observe, that, as none of the people are required to be present at this ceremony, it cannot be considered as commanded by the Church.

I ask then, whether for the reasons I have mentioned, it is charitable or just to cast upon us the odious charge of idolatry, and hold us up as objects of horror or pity to those with whom we live? Is the vast majority of the christian world to be stigmatized by an Archdeacon of Bath, or an anonymous pamphleteer, as so many idolaters, because they bow to the altar of God? Can a dignitary of the Established Church find no better subject to entertain his clergy in the chair of truth, and in the presence of the God of charity, than charges so destitute of truth and so repugnant to brotherly love? And can they who undertake the defence of such conduct, offer no better apology for it, than that the same outrages have been committed by others for nearly three centuries?

But, perhaps these gentlemen rest their charge of idolatry, not upon what is done by Catholics in England, but by what they have seen or heard of in Catholic countries abroad. But why should the Catholics of England, who commit no idolatry, be persecuted for the crime which is said to be committed by the inhabitants of Italy, Mexico, or China?—Would an English Protestant think it fair to be traduced as a Deist or an Infidel, because many Protestants abroad, and some few at home, have fallen into Deism and Infidelity? Hard indeed would be our fate, if we were to be made accountable for all the extravagant notions or criminal practices which may happen to be committed by any individuals amongst the countless millions, which, in every part of the known world, adhere to the great Church with which we are joined in communion. Before we can be at all fairly implicated in the misconduct of other Catholics, it ought to be shewn that this misconduct is the genuine and necessary consequence of our common tenets. Now this has not been done.

I am aware that an English Protestant going abroad will meet with many observances which he will misunderstand. He is prepared by his early education to expect it, and he is not prepared to guard against the wrong judgments into which his ignorance of the usages of ancient times, and the import of ancient ceremonies is too liable to lead him. He has read in classical books of the religious ceremonies of the ancient Pagans, and he has seen a clergyman in a white surplice reading some quiet English prayers in one square box, and preaching a very quiet moral sermon in another. The latter he takes as the standard of true christian worship, and whatever has a distant resemblance to the former, he considers as belonging to Paganism. He seldom reflects that the worship of the true God under the Jewish dispensation, bore a much nearer resemblance to Pagan worship than any thing he will meet with in a Catholic church. But he has been assured from his infancy, that Catholics are only another description of Pagans. He sees no reason to doubt of the fact; so that when he goes into a Catholic country, he has nothing to do but to collect together all such observances as he does not understand, and class them, according to the best of his judgment, under the different heads with which he has been furnished, and which a learned prelate of the Established Church lately reduced to three, namely, *idolatry*, *blasphemy*, and *superstition*.*

* Shute, Bishop of Durham.

There are many things done by Catholics, that are not approved by the Catholic Church ; and there are many things which she does approve, but which, from the manner of performing them becomes objectionable. There are many observances which she only tolerates, because she cannot correct them ; and there are many which she condemns and censures whenever she knows of their existence. The same thing happens in all religions of any considerable extent, and the same must necessarily happen in all great societies, whether religious or civil, which are composed of the children of Adam. There is no man more hurt than an English Catholic at many observances which he meets with abroad. No one laments more than he, that in churches where architecture, painting and sculpture combine their magic powers to produce one beautiful and impressive whole, some wretched piece of sculpture, painted and dressed in rich attire, should sometimes be suffered to occupy even a small side chapel and to excite the admiration and the piety even of a few old women.* But though he laments such an instance of bad taste in the admirers of these objects, he knows very well that they had their origin in times when taste was not so refined as it is at present, and that more scandal may sometimes be given to the common people by attacking their ancient customs, than good could be derived from attempting to improve their taste for the fine arts. With regard to the substance of the thing, he knows that it is not changed by the merits of the statue or picture. He knows that the minds of the lower classes are often more impressed by the rudest piece of sculpture or the merest daub, if highly coloured and strongly marked, than they would by a crucifix from the chisel of Michael Angelo or a dead Christ from the pencil of Annibal Caracci ; and though he himself should certainly prefer having the latter objects before him when he says his prayers, he is aware that those who prefer the former, may pray before them with equal innocence and equal advantage.

An Englishman, whatever his religion, is a less ceremonious being than most of his European brethren, and he has a much cooler way of expressing his feelings, whether in religion or common life. Hence, an English Catholic often finds the ceremonies of his foreign brethren too overcharged for his disposition and prefers greatly the more quiet forms of his own

* This custom appears to be equally disapproved of by the Council of Trent : “ omnis licivia vitetur ; ita ut procaci venustate imagines non pingantur nec ornentur.” Sess. 25.

country. He is seldom found walking in public processions, and still less frequently is he found burning his little taper in honour of some favourite saint, or hanging up in token of gratitude his votive offering. He knows that these things constitute no essential part of his religion, and therefore he omits them. But he is too liberal and too charitable to condemn others whose partialities are different from his own. He leaves to his neighbours the same liberty of choosing their devotional practises which he exercises himself. He does not consider himself authorized to make his own ideas the standard of other men's judgment, nor his own conduct the rule of his neighbour's actions. If he meet with observances which he does not understand, he enquires their meaning and import, before he pronounces upon their merit; and, knowing that charity is the first principle of the christian religion, he never condemns any man of a crime till he has heard his defence.

If there be any thing criminal in such a conduct, the English Catholic must plead guilty. It certainly is very different from that of Dr. Moysey and his friends, whose ardent zeal for the honour of God and the purity of his worship, enables them to discover idolatry where we cannot. But does not zeal itself sometimes lead men into error as well as charity? I think this will appear to be the case in the present instance.

§ 3.

FIRST AND SECOND COMMANDMENTS.

Differently explained by Dr. Moysey and his two friends.—Their explanations refuted.—Catholic explanation.—Import of external acts uncertain.—Definition of the words adoration, worship, Latreia, Douleia, idolatry, &c.—Necessity of attending to the meaning of these words.—Catholic Church does not violate the commandments.

Dr. Moysey himself and his two anonymous advocates agree in accusing the Catholics of idolatry in violating the second commandment. But it is curious enough that each of these three divines alleges a different reason for his decision. It would seem that they had first settled that we must be idolaters, and they set themselves to consider why so.—Dr. Moysey says we are idolaters, because the second commandment forbids us “to bow down *in prayer*,” to any but God. Vindex says we are idolaters because the second commandment forbids us to “*bow down at all*” to any but God; and the author of “*Catholicism Sifted*” says we are idolaters, because the scripture forbids the “making of images *for any religious use*,” whether we bow down to them or not. Dr. Moysey’s reason I have already answered, I trust satisfactorily, as his two friends have given him up. The reason assigned by “*Catholicism sifted*” I leave to the Established Church to refute, as it is quite manifest that the pictures and statues which she has in her churches are as much for a *religious use* as ours. To Vindex I shall forthwith proceed. He states his doctrine as follows.

“The law forbids any kind of similitude, whether of things in heaven, or in earth, or under the earth, *the bowing down to them, or worshipping them*. Now let me ask, Can a law be framed in more direct or explicit terms? Does it allow men to bow down to God in one way and to sensible representations in another? or does it positively restrict the act of *bowing down* to God? One would suppose that language so decisive could not be wrested out of its obvious meaning.—Where a legal injunction is positive, to divest it of its positive character and to clothe it only with comparative force and obligation may be

according to the rules of logic, but it must be logic which is studied in a Roman Catholic school.”*

From these quotations it appears, that in the opinion of Vindex the second commandment positively restricts to God alone the external act of *bowing down*, and forbids its being applied to sensible objects in any way whatever. Now to this explanation I object for the following reasons :

1st, Because it will involve in the guilt of idolatry many of the most holy persons mentioned in scripture. “Abraham bowed himself down toward the ground,”† at the presence of the angels. Joshua did the same, when the angel declared himself, saying, “As a captain of the host of the Lord I am come, Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did worship, and said unto him, What saith my Lord unto his servant?”‡ “David fell on his face and bowed himself three times to Jonathan.”|| The nobles of David did the same both to God and the king, “And all the congregation blessed the Lord God of their fathers, and bowed down their heads and worshipped the Lord and the king,”§ &c.

2ndly, Because it will involve in the same dreadful guilt the king, the bishops, and the people of the Church of England. For, on certain state occasions, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, are required and actually do bow to the king’s throne when the king is not in it. On the day of the coronation the king himself as well as the bishops bowed repeatedly to the altar, and by the canons of the Church of England all persons are commanded to bow at the name of Jesus, and recommended to bow to the communion table.¶

To this last example Vindex replies that “Protestants are commanded to bow *at* the name but not *to* the name of Jesus. When the sound reminds us of our glorified Saviour we offer to him the worship enjoined, but we offer no worship to the sound itself.” Neither do Catholics, if by worship Vindex means *divine honour*, for we know that a sound is not God. But it does appear to me, that when St. Paul said, that, “at the name of Jesus every knee should bow,” and assigned for reason that it was a “name above every name,” he really meant to signify that the honour was due to the name itself; not of course on its own account but on account of the Being

* Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, page 30 and 32.

† Sept. προσκυνησεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν. Gen. xviii. 2.

‡ Joshua v. 15.

|| 1 Samuel xx. 41.

§ Chronicles xxix. 20. προσκυνεῖν κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ

¶ See the note page 25.

it represented. But if Vindex still thinks otherwise I have no objection. But then I must beg to ask him how he will get over the other instances abovementioned? Do the bishops and peers of England bow *at* the throne, and not *to* the throne; or did they, on the day of the coronation, bow *at* the king and not *to* the king; and did both they and the king himself bow *at* the altar and not *to* the altar? If Vindex has not some other ingenious distinction to get the king and bishops out of this difficulty, I fear he must consent to add them to his catalogue of idolaters; and if he should succeed in shewing that this *bowing* was not *to* the objects but *at* them, the Catholic Church will beg leave to avail herself of his discovery for escaping from his condemnation; as it is quite manifest that her bowing down is precisely similar, both in the external act and the internal motive, to that of the Established Church.

3dly, If the act of bowing down be *reserved to God alone*, why is not every man who bows to his neighbour in the street guilty of a breach of this commandment?—Will it be said, that in these cases the intention is not to worship but only to pay a mark of respect? But this excuse Vindex positively refuses to admit, “For against the intention of man,” says he, “as a rule of action, I oppose the will of God. The ignorance of the agent, if it be not wilful, may abate the guilt of the action, but his *intention* cannot alter the nature of things.” How severe are the doctrines of our new commmentator, and how unlucky are the effects of his biblical criticism! In attempting to establish that most desirable hypothesis, that all the christians in the world were idolaters for a thousand years, he has proved that they are all idolaters still, not even excepting his own little church of Apostolical purity; nay, with the exception perhaps of a few of our worthy countrymen, the Quakers, who never bow, that there are nothing but idolaters in the whole world!

4thly, If God had reserved to himself alone the act of bowing down, it must have been not merely for the purpose of preventing others from enjoying it, but more particularly that he might himself be honored with it. So that we must conclude, that this act would have held a distinguished rank amongst the sacred rights which he gave to his ancient people, and that it would have continued to hold the same under the Christian dispensation. In this case we should have had the *worship of bowing down*, with all its forms and ceremonies, detailed in the book of Leviticus, amongst the different kinds

of sacrifice? and though it would have been discontinued of course in the Catholic Church, after the first centuries of christianity, it would have been restored in all its perfection when Henry the Eighth brought back the Church of Christ to its primitive purity. Yet I am not aware that the worship of *bowing down* formed any part either of the Jewish ritual, or of that of the early Christians, or even of modern Protestants. It is true, as I before observed, that “due and lowly reverence is required by the Church of England to be made, when the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned,” but as the mention of this sacred name is merely accidental, and as bowing is commanded at no other time, the principal act of divine worship, if *bowing* were considered such, would have been left to chance and might have been frequently altogether omitted.

5thly. If the commandment had restricted the prohibition to the act of *bowing down* it would not have prohibited many other modes of paying divine worship which were common amongst the ancient Pagans. Thus it would not have prohibited the form of worship, perhaps the most common of all others, which consisted in kissing the idol, or kissing the hand and moving it towards the idol, “As it were,” says Selden, “to throw the kiss to the object worshipped.” It is from this act that the Latin word *adore* and the English word *to adore* is derived, and perhaps also the Greek προσκυνην

Lastly, if by the second commandment the Almighty had wished to reserve to himself any *one* special act, it would have been that of sacrifice, which has ever been considered as belonging exclusively to the Godhead, but which was constantly given by the Pagans to their deities; not the act of *bowing down*, which has always been and is still considered as the most ordinary mark of civility or respect which men pay to each other.

But, exclaims Vindex, “that the *will of God* may be best gathered from the *Word of God*, is perhaps a point which you will authorize me to assume.”* Most certainly; but what then? “We have it then upon record,” continues Vindex, “in the Word of God, that the law before us did not respect the worshipping an idol as the true God, but the worshipping the true God under some symbol of his presence.” Alas! what chance has a Catholic divine against these modern theologians? To us the sacred Scriptures speak but one doctrine, and this one doctrine is common to us all. With us the mean-

* Letter, &c. page 31.



"They forgot God their saviour, Psalm, cvi. 21."

ing of Scripture is as unchangeable as its phrases, nor will it in our greatest distress, bend its stubborn form to lend us a helping hand. But to the favoured children of the Reformation it is all accommodating. Without altering its language it varies its meaning according to the exigencies of each individual, and offers itself to prove or disprove whatever he may wish. I had considered it as at least probable, that the golden calf erected in the wilderness and worshipped by the Israelites, was rather an imitation of an Egyptian idol representing Osiris, or some other false deity, not that it was a symbol of the true God. Such indeed is the decided opinion of the learned Selden* and, I believe, of most other Protestant as well as Catholic divines, and the same appears to be

* Tom. ii. p. 304-5.

clearly confirmed by other passages of Scripture, which tell us that the Israelites on this occasion “forgot God their Saviour, which had done great things for them in Egypt,”* that they “forsook the God that made” them and “that they sacrificed to devils, not to God.”† But no, says Vindex, the golden calf was intended as a visible representation of Jehovah himself, and the only reason why he objected to the worship paid him under this form was, that he did not choose to be worshipped under any visible form whatever, this being *relative* worship. But, supposing it were certain, that the Jews on this occasion intended to worship the true God, I ask, with all deference to the learning of Vindex, is it quite certain that because the Almighty objected to be worshipped in the form of a calf, he would therefore have equally objected to be worshipped under some more respectful form; for instance, under that which he was pleased to assume for our salvation? Were I to represent Vindex himself under the form of a calf, and he should express himself not pleased with the compliment, should I have a right to conclude that he would have equal objection to be represented under some other form; for instance, under that of a logician, metaphysician or biblical critic? If it is not too great presumption, I would just observe to Vindex, that though the *will of God* may very safely be gathered from the *Word of God*, it is only from the Word of God explained according to the *meaning of God*. For when the word of God is explained in any other meaning, it ceases to be the Word of God and becomes the *word of man*, which is a very uncertain rule for explaining the *will of God*. Therefore till he can afford us some better authority for his explanation of the Word of God, than his own anonymous opinion, we must necessarily prefer the explanation of other commentators, whose names we know and whose opinions we have reason to revere.

From these different arguments, I conclude that the second commandment does not “restrict the act of *bowing down* to God” and that it *does* allow us to bow down to him in one way and to sensible representations in another.” I will add that it does not reserve to God *any* particular external act whatever, except sacrifice, and that it does allow *any* external act whatever, except sacrifice,‡ to be paid to creatures. The

* Psalm cvi. 21.

† Deut xxxiii. 15, 17.

‡ Sacrifice is not merely an *external* act but also an *internal* one, consisting of an external offering made to some being, *for the professed purpose of acknowledging the same as a God*. It can therefore never be offered to any Being but the true God without the guilt of idolatry.

reason is, that all external acts are mere arbitrary signs, which have different meanings according to the circumstances under which they are employed, the intention of the person who employs them, and the nature of the object to which they are exhibited. Bowing, kneeling, prostrating, the burning of lights, incense, &c. are all subject to the same uncertainty of import, and are lawful or unlawful according to circumstances. An inferior bows to his superior: it is a mark of submission and subjection and is a laudable act. A Catholic, or a member of the Church of England, bows to the altar, or at the name of Jesus; it is an act of respect as far as it regards the altar or the name; it is an act of *Latreia*, or divine worship, as far as it regards the Deity; a man bows to an idol, or at the name of Jupiter; it is an act of idolatry. A child kneels to his parent to ask his blessing; it is an act of filial piety: he does the same to beg his forgiveness; it is an act of supplication; he does the same to the true God; it is an act of *Latreia*, or divine worship: he does the same to an idol or false god; it is an act of idolatry. A wife prostrates herself before a prince to beg the life of her husband; she kisses his feet and implores his mercy; it is an act of humiliation and supplication proceeding from conjugal affection: she prostrates herself before God; it is an act of *Latreia*; before an idol or a false God; it is an act of idolatry. A man kisses his friend: in England it is a mark of the greatest intimacy and strongest affection; in France it betokens a less degree of familiarity or friendship; in some other countries it is an act of the commonest civility. From a child to a parent it is a token of filial affection; from a parent to a child of parental tenderness; from a wife to a husband of conjugal attachment; to the picture of a husband, the same; from a subject to a sovereign, it may be an act of homage; from any one to an idol it is an act of idolatry. I may light candles before a picture or statue, that it may be better seen: Dr. Moysey would not scruple to do it. I may bear a torch to light the steps of a friend; it is an act of civility; to guide the bewildered traveller; it is an act of charity. I may bear it at a marriage, it is a sign of joy; at a funeral, it is a token of grief; before an emperor, it is a mark of respect or loyalty; before his statue, it anciently meant the same. But if I light a taper or carry a torch before an idol, I am guilty of an act of idolatry. If I burn incense to fumigate a room, it is an act of convenience or luxury. If I burn it before the altar, the crucifix, the book of the gospels, the ministers of religion, it is a token of respect

for these different objects, on account of their consecration to God or connexion with his service. If I burn it to God himself it is an act of *Latreia*; if I burn it before an idol or in honour of a false god, it is an act of idolatry. As therefore it is clear that all these external acts may be and are lawfully exhibited to creatures, as well as to God, it is equally clear that God did not “reserve any of them to himself” by the second commandment.

What then is the true meaning of the commandment? According to the Catholic explanation it is this. In the first commandment, by the words “I am the Lord thy God; Thou shalt have no other gods before me;” &c. the Almighty signified to us, that *He* is to be honored as our Creator and Sovereign Lord, and *He alone*. That consequently we must worship Him *internally* by believing in him, and in the truths he teaches us; by placing our entire confidence in him, and not looking for or expecting any good but such as is derived immediately or ultimately from him; by loving him with our whole hearts, preferring him before all things else and studying above all things to comply with his commands. That we must worship Him also *externally* by complying faithfully with all the external duties prescribed for our observance, whether immediately by himself, or through the medium of his Apostles and their lawful successors, whom he commissioned to teach us to “observe all things whatsoever he had commanded them;” with whom he promised “to remain always even unto the end of the world;”* and to whom he said, “he that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you, despiseth me;” † that amongst the various duties prescribed by religion, that of public prayer must be diligently and regularly performed; and, above all, that we must frequently offer or join in offering to him that holy and mystical sacrifice, “that pure offering,” which the prophet Malachi foretold should take place of the ancient Jewish sacrifices, and should be offered to God in every place, “from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same.”‡ In fine, the first commandment requires that, both with our souls and with our bodies, we do Sovereign homage, and shew perfect obedience to God, as our Creator, Preserver, Redeemer; as the original source of all our good, the ultimate foundation of all our present and future hopes; the great and predominating object of our respect, our veneration and our love. Whoever complies with these internal

* Matthew, xxviii, 20. † Luke x. 16. ‡ Malachi, i. 11.

and external duties, worships God “in spirit and truth” and complies with the injunction of the first commandment.

The second commandment which says, “Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them,” *does not* forbid the making of images and pictures in general, otherwise, the Almighty himself would have been the first to violate his own command, when he ordered the brazen serpent to be made in the wilderness and the two cherubims to be placed in the Jewish sanctuary; Solomon would have violated it when he made, without express authority, several other figures of cherubims* in the temple, and also when he made, equally without authority, twelve figures of oxen to support the “molten sea.” This circumstance is the more remarkable, the figure of the ox being the same as that which the Jews made in the wilderness and which God condemned as an idol. But the golden calf made by Aaron in the wilderness, was made as an idol or false god, to have divine honours paid to it; whereas Solomon’s brazen oxen were made for a different purpose and therefore were not condemned. The Established Church of England would also violate it by the statues and paintings, with which her temples are adorned. But the commandment *does* forbid the making of *any image whatever as a god*, and the Almighty is particular in enumerating things “that are in heaven above, in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth,” because the Jews, to whom he delivered the commandment, were just returned from Egypt, a country where almost every creature, from the sun, the stars, and other heavenly bodies down to the beasts of the earth and the reptiles of the sea, were, through the medium of various representations, honoured as gods, with a superstitious or idolatrous worship.† The other part of this commandment, “Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them nor serve them;” or as the Catholic translation renders it, “Thou shalt not *adore* them nor serve them,” is easily understood. It does not, as I have already proved, forbid merely the act of *bowing down* to idols, or false gods, but it forbids *any act whatever*, whether of the body or only of the mind, employed to honour such objects.—Therefore, was a man to kneel before an idol or false god, or prostrate himself before it, or kiss his hand or move his hat to it, or

* 1 Kings vii. 23, 29. † See Selden.

burn a taper or offer incense before it, or even in his mind respect it, place confidence in it, or entertain an affection for it, he would be guilty of a violation of the commandment, and of superstition or idolatry, just as much as if he *bowed himself down* before it.* In other words, any man who believed that an image was a god, or that it was any thing more than a mere creature, or who placed any confidence in it as a god, or by any internal or external act honoured it as such, would be equally guilty of idolatry, whether the image represented Jupiter or Jesus Christ, Minerva or the blessed Virgin Mary, Apollo or St. Peter, the golden calf or an angel. And the reason is, that in all these cases he would equally acknowledge as a god what is only a creature; or he would honour the creature for some excellencies which can belong only to God, and therefore would rob God of the honour which belongs to him. But whatever external act a person may employ towards an image, whether of Christ, of a parent, a sovereign, or of a saint, so long as he does not believe that image to be a god, nor to have any virtue in it which entitles it to honour, nor places any confidence in it, nor in fine intends to pay it any acknowledgement which belongs to God alone, he does not violate the commandment, nor is he guilty of idolatry.

From these observations it will be easy to collect what is the true meaning of the words *worship*, *adoration*, *idolatry*, and the like.

I have proved that all external acts employed in the worship of God, are equivocal acts, common to God and to creatures. Words are the images of things, and therefore *all* words in the ancient languages, which signified the above acts, are as equivocal as the acts themselves. Hence neither in Hebrew, in Greek, nor in Latin, is there one single word signifying such acts which may not be applied to creatures as well as to God. Vindex acknowledges that the Hebrew text of the second commandment sometimes signifies to *adore* as well as to *bow down*; he also admits that the Greek word *proskunein*, which

* Therefore, notwithstanding all the Hebrew, Greek and Latin which Vindex has lavished upon the words *bow down*, I still think that the word *adore* is preferable, as being more comprehensive in its meaning, and as taking in the whole prohibition of the commandment; whereas the words *bow down*, only forbid *one* of the numerous acts by which idolatry may be committed. But the original translators of the Protestant bible had their reasons for preferring the words *bow down* to the word *adore*, as well as they had for preferring the word *image* to that of *idol*, wherever the latter was condemned by the sacred text. They have corrected most if not all the latter mistakes in their latest editions; perhaps on some future day they may alter the former.

in his own version of St. Matthew, chap. 4, signifies *divine worship* ;* in several other passages which he quotes “ can mean nothing more than the act of bowing the head or body, as a mark of *respect* shewn to man.”† In modern languages the meaning of such words is rather more defined, inasmuch as there are some which *generally* signify the honour belonging to the Deity. I say *generally*, because I do not know any single word which is not sometimes employed in a different sense. Thus Johnson informs us, that the word *adore* sometimes signifies merely an act of human respect ; an alderman is said to be *worshipful*, and in the marriage ceremony of the Established Church the husband *worships* his wife, “ With my body I thee *worship*.” To prevent the mistakes into which the ambiguity of such words is liable to lead men in religious discussions, the Catholic Church, at an early period, selected two words, to which she gave a fixed and determined theological meaning, one, *Latreia*, signifying *any act employed with the intention of acknowledging and honouring a being as God* ; the other *Douleia*, signifying *any act by which a creature is honoured, merely as a creature and not as a god*.

Idolatry therefore is *giving Latreia to any creature*, or in other words *it is exhibiting towards a creature any act with an intention of acknowledging it as a god*.

Adoration, worship, &c. are, as before observed, ambiguous words, which mean some times *Latreia*, or the honour due only to God ; sometimes *Douleia*, or mere respect due to creatures. Hence it is manifest, how necessary it is at all times, but particularly when engaged with works written in the ancient languages, first to ascertain the real sense in which these words are, on any particular occasion, employed, before an argument is founded upon them. If we read in scripture that the nobles of David “ worshipped God and the king,”‡ we must first be sure that the word *worship* means the same when applied to the king that it does when applied to God, or rather we must be sure that the same act does not vary its nature according to the object about which it is employed, or the intention of those who employ it, before we venture to pronounce that those nobles were idolaters. In like manner if we read in ancient councils or rituals, that the cross of Christ or the images of the saints are to be *worshipped* or *adored*, we

* “ Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God.” † Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, page 28.

‡ 1 Chronicles xxix, 20.

must first enquire whether, by worship or adoration, is meant *divine honour*, or only *mere respect*, before we pronounce that their doctrine is idolatrous. The same caution is necessary in deciding upon the moral character of any external acts employed as marks of respect. If I read in scripture that Moses bowed down before the Lord, who appeared to him on Mount Sinia,* that Abraham bowed down before the angels,† and that Joshua fell down before the ark,‡ I am not immediately to conclude, that the same act in each of these different cases signifies the same thing, and that therefore, Abraham and Joshua were idolaters, because they exhibited to creatures the same external act of worship which Moses paid to the Deity. In like manner, if I read in ecclesiastical history, or observe in foreign countries, that a certain class of Christians are accustomed to bow down or kneel before altars, crosses, the books of the gospel, statues, or pictures; to kiss them, to burn lights or incense before them, or in fine to exhibit towards them any other external marks of respect which are employed indifferently to God and his creatures; I am not immediately to conclude that these Christians are idolaters. I must enquire whether these acts are intended as acts of divine worship or only of mere respect. In making this enquiry it will be useful to ascertain the belief of these persons, respecting the nature of the objects to which these acts are exhibited. If I find that they really believe that altars, crosses, books, images and pictures are gods, or that they contain in them any excellence belonging only to the Deity, or any inherent virtue which can entitle them to the honours due to God, and I find them bowing, kneeling, &c. before these objects, I may be justified in concluding that they are committing idolatry or superstition; but if I find that they do not believe these objects to be gods, nor to be in any way entitled to divine honours, I am bound in reason and in charity to conclude, that it is not their intention to pay them such honours, but that any equivocal acts which they employ, being lawfully applicable to creatures, are applied in such manner by them. If I doubt of their religious belief, charity will compel me to put the best construction on their conduct, and not pronounce them idolaters till I am certain of their guilt.

Had the adversaries of the Catholic Religion attended to these just precautions, we should not have heard an authorized

* Exodus xxxiv. 8. † Genesis xviii. 2. ‡ Joshua vii. 6.

work of "the most mild and tolerant Church in Christendom"* asserting "that laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects and degrees of men, women and children of all Christendom, have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God and most damnable to man, and that for the space of eight hundred years and more:"† nor should we have found a dignitary of the Established Church of England in the nineteenth century, renewing this awful anathema, and countenancing an anonymous writer, who even extends the frightful malediction by dating it two centuries earlier and continuing it, for the great majority of Christendom, to nearly three centuries later!‡

From the above observations, I consider it clear that the Catholic Church does not violate the second commandment *merely* by *bowing* to the crucifix, altar, or other sensible object, nor *by any other external act* exhibited to creatures, provided she is careful at all times to observe the distinction above-mentioned of honouring God alone as God, and creatures only as creatures; in other words, if she reserves *Latreia* to God alone, and gives to creatures only *Douleia*. Now this I before maintained, and still maintain to be the case. Dr. Moysey's friend Vindex, denies it. He asserts "that the distinction between *Latreia* and *Douleia*, instead of justifying the doctrine and practice of our Church, is at *variance* with its doctrine and practice:"|| in other words, he asserts that the Catholic Church does not, either in doctrine or practice, reserve *Latreia* to God alone, but allows it to be given to images. This position he attempts to establish by a reference to the history of the Church, to the decrees of our general Councils, to the doctrines of our divines, and to our ritual observances and prayers. I shall examine his proofs with as much consideration for the patience of my reader, as such a subject will admit.

* A curious appellation of the Church of England by Dr. Moysey. Charge, page 13.

† Book of Homilies, Peril of Idolatry, part 3.

N.B. A new edition of this *liberal* and *enlightened* Work, from the Clarendon Press, Oxford, was published in 1816, by the Society for Promoting *Christian Knowledge*!

‡ Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, pages 14, 15, &c.

|| Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, page 13.

§ 4.

HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN IMAGES.

How far used in the first three centuries.—Introduced along with architecture.—Common in the fourth century; general in the sixth.—History of the Iconoclast council at Constantinople.—The second council of Nice misrepresented by Vindex.—Its decree.

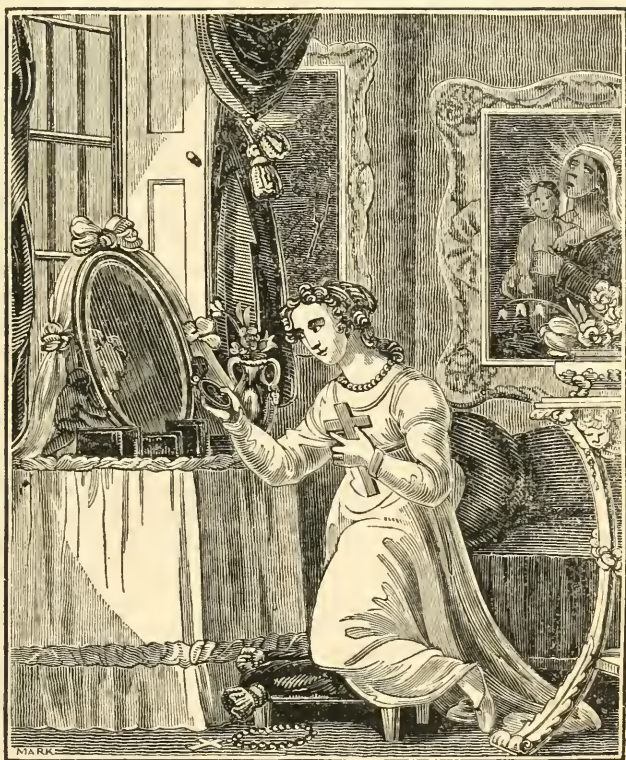
But before I proceed further, I must beg my reader to remember the definitions I have given of the words *Latreia* and *Douleia*, and as these are words which must sound harsh and barbarous to any but theological ears, I will always substitute in the place of *Latreia*, or add to it, *divine worship*, which shall be used in the same sense. Should I have occasion to speak of *Douleia*, I will either substitute in its place, or accompany it by its equivalent words, *mere respect*. I must also beg the reader particularly to keep in mind the uncertainty and ambiguity of the words *worship*, *adoration*, and the like, as I have already proved that, in the ancient languages, these words were used indiscriminately to signify either *divine worship*, or *mere respect*. The reason of my making this request is, because I mean to show that almost every argument adduced by Vindex to prove that the Catholic Church allows *divine worship* to creatures, is founded on a misrepresentation of these ambiguous words, or a misrepresentation of certain equivocal acts.

He begins as follows. “By a reference to ecclesiastical history, (to the study of which I recommend you before you favour the public with a second edition of your Letter) it appears evident that the sense of the whole Church during the three first centuries is in direct opposition to image worship of every sort and kind; whether you define it the worship of a false god, or the worshipping the true God after a prohibited manner. And if you want proofs of this assertion, you may find them in the writings of Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen and Tertullian, against those of Celsus, Porphyry and Julian.” Now though I do not think Vindex can have read these fathers, otherwise he would hardly have

resisted the temptation of giving us at least some one reference, I must beg the reader to observe the strange perplexity of this passage. The Church of the three first centuries was averse to "*image worship of every sort and kind.*" From these words he no doubt intended his readers to suppose that the early Church was averse to the practice of paying that *mere respect* to images, which afterwards prevailed, and which he constantly denominates image worship. But when he defines this image worship to mean "the worship of false gods, or the worship of the true God after a prohibited manner" one would imagine that he did not allude to the practices of the Catholic Church, which certainly always was and is to this day, as averse as he can be, either "to the worship of false gods, or to the worship of the true God after a prohibited manner."* But if Vindex means that during the three first centuries the Church did not allow a *mere respect* to be paid to pictures and images, I think it more than probable that he is mistaken. I think it more than probable that as it is in human nature to cherish the painted or sculptured likenesses of those we love and esteem, and as, according to Mr. Gibbon himself "in every age such copies, so congenial to the human feelings, have been cherished by the zeal of private friendship or public esteem,"† the early Christians would be as eager to possess pictures and images of Christ and his apostles, as Protestants are at the present day. There is scarcely a house in England where such representations are not to be found even eighteen centuries after the death of Jesus Christ. But had he lived only a few years ago, and the breasts of his followers were still fired with the fervour of the early Christians, such likenesses would, I apprehend, be in still greater request. We often see ladies in these days wearing about their necks rich crosses, as emblems, I presume, of themselves being the followers of Christ. We also frequently see them wearing, in a similar manner, the miniature of some departed or absent husband, child or parent. We sometimes also see them in moments of tender or mournful recollection, pressing the dear image to their lips, and perhaps bedewing it with their tears. At all events they respect it, they value it, and would feel

* Query. Is it always idolatry to worship the true God after a prohibited manner? If so, either it will follow that the dissenters from the Established Church are idolaters, or that they do not worship God after a prohibited manner, and therefore ought not to be stigmatized by Dr Moysey as the abettors of "error, innovation," &c." See his Charge, page 12, &c.

† Decline and Fall of the Romau empire; chap. 49.



hurt at any indignity being offered to it. I think it highly probable that feelings of affection, equally strong and better founded, would prompt the early converts to christianity, to shew a similar regard to the representation of the great and benign author of their redemption. I think it more than probable that in moments of grateful remembrance or tender piety, the fervent Christian would embrace, with equal affection, the representation of the "good Shepherd" or the dying Redeemer: and would Vindex say that this will be idolatry! Greater respect than this was never sanctioned by the Catholic Church, nor can I think that less was shewn in the first centuries of christianity. Indeed it is certain from Tertullian, that in his time, namely in the second century, the figure of the good Shepherd was engraved on the chalices used in the

divine service;* and the same figure is still found on the tombs of the primitive Christians in the ancient cemeteries at Rome.† It is certain also, that the cross, the lamb, and other emblems of Christ, were frequently worn by the ancient Christians in the times of persecution.

That during the first three centuries it was not customary to introduce paintings or statues, particularly of any great magnitude into churches, I can readily believe for the following reasons: 1st. Because there were no *churches* into which they could be introduced. "In Tertullian's time," says the Book of Homilies, "Christians had none other temples but common houses, whither they, for the most part, secretly resorted. Unto the time of Constantine, the space of above three hundred years after our Saviour Christ, when the Christian religion was most pure and indeed golden, Christians had but low and poor conventicles and simple oratories, yea caves under the ground called cryptœ, where they, for fear of persecution assembled together."‡ Now it is manifest that, in places like these, paintings and statues would have been generally misplaced. Moreover, in those times of severe persecution, to have had such ornaments in places of worship would only have been to expose themselves to insult and profanation, and those with whom they were found, to detection and danger. The Christians of those times were in fact in nearly the same condition as the Catholics in England, from the reign of Elizabeth till the early part of his late majesty's propitious reign. We also, during that long period of proscription and tears, when to be a Catholic was a crime, and to officiate as a Catholic priest was high treason and death, were obliged to worship God in private houses, in garrets, and in caves; and though our doctrines were the same then as they had been before and have been since, it rarely happened that the spies of government or private informers, could discover any vestige of a picture or an image amongst us. But when Constantine the Great gave liberty to the Christian world, and when George the Third of grateful memory, slackened the bonds of his Catholic subjects, and the Catholics of both periods were allowed to erect churches of great dimensions and architectural character, the ornaments of painting and sculpture claimed their *right* of admission to cover the naked panel or fill the vacant niche; and it struck the christians of both times, that if the halls of

* Tertullianus lib : de pudicitia. c. 10.

† Bartoli, *Le Antiche lucerne*, n. 28, 29, &c.

‡ Peril of Idolatry, part 3.

public justice were appropriately adorned with the emblematical figures of Equity, Truth, &c. or with the pictures and statues of eminent legislators or upright judges, and the palaces of kings with the representations and achievements of princes, heroes and statesmen, the temples of God might, with equal propriety and greater utility, be adorned with the painted or sculptured representations of the wonderful and benevolent works of Jesus Christ, and with the heroic actions of his martyrs and saints.

It is natural however to suppose, that even after the Christians could introduce such ornaments with safety, there would be some who would object to it, either as thinking it unlawful, or as preferring the poverty and simplicity to which they had been accustomed; and as the Church had not yet decided any thing on the subject, every one was free to entertain his own private opinion upon it. It is probable also, that the fear of scandalizing the Jews who, in those days condemned all visible representations,* or of misleading the Pagans, who being accustomed to see only the statues of deities in their temples, might conclude that the statues in Christian churches were of a similar character, would cause many to doubt of the expediency of introducing such ornaments. Thus in England there are many Catholics, at the present day, who object to the placing of statues in our churches in this country; not because they doubt of the lawfulness of the practice, but because they fear to give scandal to their Protestant brethren, many of whom have been taught to believe, by their nurses and their clergy, that the images of Catholics are considered by them as objects of adoration. Indeed I am surprised that considerations such as these, did not retard for a longer period the introduction of paintings and statues into churches, and that we should find so many instances of them even in the first century, when they could be introduced.

Vindex proceeds, “It was then (the fourth century) that the walls of churches began to be painted, and statues of Christ and his apostles to be erected, with the view of making the heathens proselytes to the Christian faith. Notwithstanding the *motive*, the *practice* was condemned, as we learn from

* That the Jews explained the *letter* of the different commandments too strictly, is manifest from the frequent reproaches made them on this subject by our Saviour, and their having been scandalized at him for healing a sick man on the sabbath day. It appears that some of them actually condemned Solomon of violating the commandment by the twelve oxen which he made to support the molten sea, and the lions with which he adorned his throne. Josephus, book 8.

Epiphanius.”* But by whom was it condemned? By the majority of Christian bishops? Or by many of them? Or by any other person than Epiphanius himself? That some should condemn, was to be expected; that many condemned is not probable, otherwise we should have heard of it; if the majority condemned, why was not the practice put down altogether, or at least why was not more opposition made? That much opposition could not have been made, is evident from Vindex’s own account. “The pictures and statues,” says he, “which were originally (in the fourth century) set up to be *looked at*, in process of time became objects of *respect*, and this again was succeeded by downright *worship*. And to such an extent was this carried in the sixth century that it afforded room for accusation among the Jews, and reproach amongst the Gentiles; the former being as much scandalized that the Christian should act in opposition to scripture, as the latter were indignant that his practice should run counter to his former precepts.”† I will just observe, by the bye, that the Catholics of those days like their brethren of these, seem to have had great difficulty to please their neighbours. The former, Vindex tells us, placed pictures in their churches for the express purpose of conciliating the Pagans “and making them proselytes to the Christian faith,” and then after they had so placed them, these same Pagans, unreasonable mortals! were *indignant* at their kind accommodating conduct. We also have generally refrained from introducing statues into our churches, to please our Protestant brethren, and convince them that such things form no essential part of our religion, and yet some of them accuse us with idolatry with as much violence as if we had introduced into our service all the sacred rites of Jupiter, Bacchus and Cytherea. But I must also beg leave to ask Vindex, whether the use of images was the only thing by which the Christians had the misfortune to scandalize the Jews and rouse the indignation of the Pagans? Did not St. Paul himself find that the preaching of “Christ crucified was unto the Jews a stumbling-block and unto the Greeks foolishness?”‡ And did not these same Jews, in the sixth century, consider the divinity of Christ, the neglect of circumcision, the keeping of the first day of the week holy instead of the seventh, and many other points of Christian doctrine, as contrary to scripture, as the Pagans thought it

* Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, page 14.

† Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, page 15.

‡ 1 Corinth. i. 23.

outrageous that a crucified man should rob Jupiter and his friends of their ancient honours? The disapprobation therefore of the Jews and Pagans, is no proof that the doctrine or practice of the Christian church was unlawful or idolatrous.

“The pictures and statues,” says Vindex, “which were originally set up to be *looked at*, in process of time became objects of *respect*, and this again was succeeded by *downright worship*.” This, reader, is a most instructive passage, and I beg to call to it thy particular attention. The progress of idolatry is as rapid as the victory of Cæsar. “He came, he saw, he conquered;” they *looked*, they *respected*, they *worshipped* downright. But what does Vindex mean by *downright worship*? *Worship*, we have already proved, is an ambiguous term, applicable to a man’s wife, to an alderman, to a mayor, to the Almighty. Is *downright worship* something different? From his explanation of the commandment it would appear, that Vindex considers the *external act of bowing down* as *downright worship*. If this be all he means, he is not much wrong. The custom of *bowing down* to created objects, was certainly in use not only in the sixth century but long before it. It is probable that it was used from the very commencement of christianity, and that the Church of England, which we are told borrowed all its doctrines from the three first centuries, borrowed this custom, also from those primitive times. But if Vindex means to say that *Latreia* or *divine worship* was in the sixth century paid by the Catholic Church to images, I consider his assertion wholly incredible and in direct contradiction to the history of the times. Between *looking at* a picture, and *respecting it* on account of the sacred objects it portrays there is a close connection. Indeed one is the natural and immediate consequence of the other. But between *respecting* a picture, as the representation of a holy person and *worshipping it as a God*, there is an immense distance; and it does appear to me, that a much longer time than Vindex has allotted to it, would be required for bringing about so strange and so fatal a revolution in the opinions and conduct of the Christian world. That in the short space of two centuries, and these two centuries bordering upon the “pure and golden ages”* of christianity, the Church of God should have been turned from the true worship of the Deity, to the idolatrous worship of inanimate forms and senseless blocks of wood and stone; and that this wonderful revolution,

* Book of Homilies.

which argues the most profound ignorance or the most consummate malice, should moreover have taken place during a period when the Church was illuminated by the most brilliant constellation of great, learned and holy bishops and pastors that christianity ever produced, by the Saints Athanasius, Hilary, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Ambrose, Austin, Jerom, John Chrysostom, &c. &c. names which must live and be venerated while learning and religion subsist; that this strange and deplorable defection should have happened in these days, of all others, appears to me utterly incredible, and therefore on the bare and unsupported assertion of Vindex, not to be admitted.

And here let me remind Vindex of the inevitable fate, he is preparing for the Church of England. Already has that Church ventured to introduce pictures and statues into her places of worship. Already do the orthodox people of England *look* at these pictures and statues. Nay some of them, I believe, already feel a greater *respect* for a representation of Jesus Christ, than they would for that of Jupiter or Nero. Only one step more is required and *downright worship* succeeds, and the Church of Christ which was sunk in the ocean of idolatry for a thousand years, and which started up again three centuries ago in this happy island, is again plunged into "damnable idolatry," and pure christianity again disappears, after a short and limited reign, from the face of the earth!—Will Vindex say that the Church of England in the nineteenth century is more enlightened, than the Catholic Church in the fourth and fifth, or that its bishops and clergy are more learned and more zealous than the great and holy prelates and pastors of those early times, and will therefore be more active and more successful in arresting the natural progress of idolatry? Alas! even this will not avail; for the Book of Homilies declares, "that neither preaching, neither writing, neither the consent of the learned, nor authority of the godly, nor the decrees of councils, neither the laws of princes, nor extreme punishment of offenders on that behalf, nor any other remedy or means can help against idolatry, if images be suffered publicly."*

"Such," continues Vindex, "was the state of the case until the eighth century, when the contests directly commenced on a point which had indeed been previously canvassed." But by whom had it been canvassed? Between the fourth and the

* Peril of Idolatry, part 3.

eighth century, the period during which he would have us believe that the Church gradually fell into idolatry, no less than six general councils were held, many of which treated of subjects of far less importance than that of preserving the whole world from damnable idolatry. Was it “canvassed” in any of *them*? Was it so much as mentioned? Or, if accidental mention was made of the use of images, in the last of these councils, was it not to approve it? * Is it not even certain that some of these councils were actually held in churches adorned with pictures or statues, and that the bishops, who assisted at them, paid these objects the accustomed marks of respect. † The truth is that the custom of placing pictures and statues in churches, and of shewing them certain marks of respect, introduced itself into the Christian religion, in the early ages of christianity, just in the same manner as it has done into the Church of England in our own times, namely, without any ecclesiastical ordinance whatever, and without any other sanction than that of the common sense and the common feelings of mankind. Had, therefore, Vindex wished to give his readers a correct statement of the case, he ought to have said, not that the question had been previously canvassed, but that the whole Christian Church, morally speaking, was so perfectly agreed upon it, that in none of the general councils held in those times, had it once been made a subject of discussion; in fine, that the contest literally and simply commenced for the first time in the eighth century.

It is a subject of surprise to me that Vindex, who professes himself so expert an historian, should not have favoured his readers with some account of this very interesting *contest*. To me it appears that he has been guilty of a serious omission, which is likely to mislead the generality of his readers. “To decide the question” says he “two councils were summoned. The one assembled at Constantinople, condemned image and picture worship as idolatrous. The other which met at Nice, asserted it to be lawful.” Now from this statement, such of his readers as are not versed in ecclesiastical history, (and how few could he expect to be versed in it, when he classes his antagonist himself amongst the ignorant!) would naturally suppose that the Christian world was pretty equally divided on the subject in question, and that the council which condemned the use of images was equal in authority to that which approved

* See Fleury hist. eccles. tom. 9. page 543.

† Fleury hist. eccles. tom. 9, page 421.

it. The fact, however, is simply this. Whilst the universal Church was enjoying a profound peace, and the east and the west were vying with each other in erecting to the living God, temples worthy, as far as any thing earthly can be worthy, of his greatness and his goodness; whilst piety was adorning these temples, under the guidance of the fine arts, with such visible representations as appeared best calculated to instruct the beholder in religious truths, and impress him with religious sentiments; whilst God alone was considered by the whole Christian world as the supreme, eternal, increased, self-existent Being, the sole Creator, Preserver, and Redeemer of mankind, and all other beings merely as his creatures, existing by his power, excellent only on account of his gifts, and deserving of no respect, but such as belongs to creatures, the work of his hands; whilst every external usage of religion was intended to be no more than an outward expression of these inward convictions, Leo the Third ascended the imperial throne. He was, says the Book of Homilies, “a very wise, merciful, and valiant prince.” He was, says Gibbon, not less truly, “ignorant of sacred profane letters; but his education, his reason, and perhaps his intercourse with the Jews and Arabs, had inspired the martial peasant with an hatred of images; and it was held to be the duty of a prince to impose on his subjects the dictates of his own conscience.”† When kings become apostles we may expect a novel mode of preaching the gospel. They seldom possess much of that “long suffering and doctrine”‡ which the scripture recommends to Christian preachers, and being more accustomed to the use of the material sword and shield than to St. Paul’s spiritual armour, they have generally employed the former instead of the latter in the business of conversion. Our Saviour said “he who believeth not shall be damned;”|| thus visiting spiritual disobedience with spiritual punishment, and he authorized his followers to use no other. But our royal apostles have constantly lost sight of this distinction, and instead of saying “he who believeth not shall be *damned*,” they have generally, by a slight mistake, ended in saying, he who believeth

* Peril of Idolatry, part 2.

† Decline and fall of the Roman Empire, chap 49. I quote Gibbon as I do the Book of Homilies, because he is a decided enemy to images, and therefore cannot be suspected of favouring the cause. His account of this business is equally artful and incorrect; but Gibbon was aware that he could not serve the cause of infidelity better, than by falling in with the ideas of the Book of Homilies, and making it appear that the whole Christian Church had become idolatrous at so early a period.

‡ 2 Timothy iv. 2.

|| Mark xvi. 16.

not shall be *hanged*." This was the case with the Emperor Leo. He had been taught by his Jewish and Mahomedan instructors that to have images and paintings was idolatry, and he was determined to remove them out of all the churches and private houses in his dominions. This was rather an arduous undertaking, and he at first endeavoured to procure the co-operation of the Church herself. Germanus was patriarch of Constantinople. Leo employed all his eloquence and all his threats to bring him over to his party; but the good bishop told him that he had no authority to change the doctrines of the Church, and that, rather than attempt it, he would renounce his patriarchal dignity.* The emperor banished him and substituted in his place a creature of his own.

Leo wrote different letters to the Pope to obtain his concurrence, and threatened, in case of refusal, to come to Rome, break the statue of St. Peter, and send his holiness into exile loaded with chains, as Constantine had done to his predecessor Martin. The Pope replied, that if he came to Rome on such an errand, he would not find *him* there; that if he chose to break St. Peter's image, it was a business between God and himself; that he had much better leave the Church in the peace in which he found it, and not assume an authority which did not belong to him. "As the bishop says he has no right to interfere in the palaces of kings and distribute civil dignities, so neither has the sovereign any right to interfere in the government of the church, the election of its ministers, or the administration of its sacraments. Let each of us confine our-

* The doctrine of this patriarch on the subject of images is fully expressed in some of his letters which remain. In one addressed to John, Bishop of Synnas, he says, "The Christian faith, worship and adoration tend to God alone, according to the commandment, Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God and serve him alone. It is to him alone we address our doxology and our worship. We do not adore the creature, God forbid, nor do we give to beings, who are his servants like ourselves, the worship due only to God. When we prostrate ourselves before the emperors and the princes of the earth, it is not to adore them as God. The prophet Nathan prostrated himself on the ground before David, who was only a man, and was not balmed for it. And when we allow images to be made, it is not to diminish the perfection of the divine worship. For we make no image to represent the invisible Divinity, whom even the angels cannot comprehend. But as the Son of God has become man for our salvation, we make the image of his humanity to fortify our faith. We make also the image of his mother, shewing, that being a creature of the same nature as ourselves, she conceived and brought forth the all powerful God. We admire also and deem happy the martyrs, the apostles, the prophets and all the saints, who were the true servants of God and we paint their pictures in memory of their courage and of the agreeable service they paid to God, *not that we pretend that they participate of the divine nature, or that we render to them the honour and worship due to God*; but to shew the affection we bear them." Fleury, tom. 9. page 217, Conc. tom. 7, page 290.

selves to our own department.” He explains to him the use of pictures and images in churches. “Our churches,” says he, “are ornamented with the painted histories of Christ and his saints. Fathers and mothers, holding their newly baptized infants in their arms, are seen pointing out to them these instructive histories, or explaining them to the youth or the newly converted, thus edifying them and raising their minds and hearts to God. We do not consider these objects as gods, God forbid, nor do we place any confidence in them,” He tells him, in fine, that the worship which Christians pay to pictures and images is only a relative honour, “*not Latreia*.”*

Finding treaty a tedious mode of proceeding, Leo obtained the sanction of a few of his bishops and courtiers, and then issued an imperial edict commanding all images and paintings to be brought to the market-place and publicly burnt, and the walls of the churches to be whitewashed. Those who opposed his proceedings or refused to subscribe to its justice, he banished, mutilated, or put to death.

One instance of his summary mode of conversion deserves to be particularly mentioned. There was a celebrated man of the name of Lœcumenicus, chief librarian to a magnificent library of thirty thousand volumes, founded by the emperors, and situated near the imperial palace. He had twelve other learned men under him, whose office it was to give gratuitously public lectures on religion and the profane sciences. So high was the esteem in which this body of men was held, that the emperors themselves were not supposed to undertake any affair of importance without their advice. Leo laboured hard, by argument, by persuasion, and by threats, to convince these men that the Church was in error, and that he was commissioned by God to reform her. Finding them quite incredulous and absolutely unwilling to lend him their assistance, he locked them up in the library, then ordered a quantity of faggots and dry wood to be placed round the building, and burnt the librarians and the books together.† This “very wise, merciful, and godly prince,” died in 741, leaving his son Constantine Copronymus to accomplish the pious work of reform which he had so happily begun.

The hopeful son shewed himself worthy of such a father.

* Fleury, tom. 9. p. 236, &c. Anast. tom. 7, concil, p. 7.

† Fleury, tom. 9. page 230.

Without greater knowledge, he possessed rather more zeal, and acted with considerably greater vigour in demolishing images, whitewashing the walls of churches, and in effectually “stopping the mouths” of all who gainsayed his imperial doctrines.—Though his edicts were much more unanswerable than his arguments, he sometimes, like our royal apostle Henry the Eighth, was anxious to shew his skill in controversy. I shall relate one of his theological discussions, because it points out clearly the real doctrines of the Catholic Church on one side, and the objections of her adversaries on the other. There was a venerable old man of the name of Stephen, celebrated all over the east for his learning and his sanctity, the abbot of a monastery in the neighbourhood of Constantinople.—Every effort had been made by the creatures of the emperor, to bring over to his party a man whose reputation was so high and whose influence was so great. They all failed, and at last the emperor determined to undertake the work himself. Stephen was sent for to the palace, and supposing what was likely to happen, he provided himself on his way with a piece of money which bore the impression of the emperors. He appeared before the imperial controvertist laden with chains.—“Wretch,” exclaimed the emperor, “tell me what precepts of the fathers we have disregarded that we should be treated by you as heretics.” Stephen replied, “You have taken from the churches the images which the fathers have at all times received and worshipped.” “Impious wretch,” exclaims the emperor, “call them not images; they are idols. How can such objects be compatible with holy things? What association can there be between light and darkness?” “Sire,” replied the abbot, “Christians were never required to adore the material substance of the image. We worship him whose name the image bears, carrying the mind from the visible form to the invisible original. The views of these things raises our thoughts to heaven and fixes our curiosity.” “And is it right,” says the emperor, “to make visible representations of what the mind itself cannot comprehend?” “And where then is the man,” answered the abbot, “unless he has lost his senses, who in worshipping what he sees in the churches worships the creature, the stone, the gold, the silver, on pretence that it bears the name of a holy object? But your party,” added he, “not distinguishing the sacred from the profane, are not shocked to call an image of Jesus Christ an idol like Apollo, and that of the mother of God an idol like Diana; to trample them under your feet and commit them to the flames.” “Dolt,” exclaims

the emperor, "do we trample Jesus Christ under our feet, when we trample upon his image? God forbid." "Sire," replied the old man, taking from under his robe the piece of money he had brought, "whose image and inscription is this?" The emperor taken by surprise, answered, "They were those of the emperors." (Namely, his own and his son's.) "Shall I then be punished," continued Stephen, "if I throw it on the ground and trample upon it?" The by-standers exclaimed, "Assuredly you will, for it bears the name and image of the invincible emperors." The abbot replied with a deep sigh, "What then shall be the punishment of him who tramples under foot the name of Jesus Christ and of his mother in their images? Shall he not be condemned to the eternal flames?" He then threw the piece of money on the ground and trod upon it. The attendants rushed upon him with great fury, and had nearly precipitated him from the terrace on which he stood, but the emperor prevented them, and sent him, with his hands bound behind his back and a rope round his neck, to the pretorian prison, to be tried by the laws for having trodden under foot the image of the emperors. He was afterwards put to death without a trial.

It was this emperor who summoned the council of Constantinople, which Vindex tells us condemned "image and picture worship as idolatrous." That it did so the reader will not be surprised, when he reflects that it was summoned by Constantine Copronymus, the son of Leo, that the bishops who composed it were all his subjects, who had trembled for several years under his own and his father's apostolic reign, and that he himself presided in person at the council. It met in the year 754, and consisted of 338 bishops; but no one attended from the patriarchal sees of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerusalem, and the see of Constantinople was vacant. A short abstract of the proceedings of the council will enable the reader to estimate the value of its decrees, which Gibbon says "betray many symptoms of reason and piety."*

It begins by paying a handsome compliment to the presiding emperor and his pious father, saying, "that as Jesus Christ formerly sent his apostles for the destruction of idols, so has he raised up, at present, his servants the emperors, imitators of the apostles, to instruct us and overthrow the works of the devil."†

It admits the authority of the six preceding general coun-

* *Decline and Fall*, chap. 49.

† Fleury, tom. ix. page 336, &c. Council, tom. vii. page 401, et seq.

cils, and finds, after serious examination of their doctrine, that the "unlawful art of painting combats the principal dogma of our religion, the incarnation of Jesus Christ!"

To establish this curious decision, the council appears to have laboured under considerable difficulty, and to have been compelled, like Vindex, to have recourse to abstruse metaphysical reasoning, which, to use Dr. Moysey's expression, appears to me rather "too subtle for the simplicity of the word of God." "Painting," says the council, "establishes the error of Nestorius, who divides Jesus Christ into two persons, and even supports those of Arius, Dioscorus, Eutyches and Severus, who confound the two natures; for the painter having made an image calls it Christ. Now the name Christ signifies the entire person comprising both God and man. Therefore either the painter confines, as he imagines, the immense Divinity within the limits of a created body, or he confounds together the two natures which are united without confusion. He who worships the image is guilty of the same blasphemy as he who makes it, and the same malediction will fall on both.

"How," continues the council, "can these foolish men pretend to paint the flesh of Jesus Christ, as if it were that of a mere man. To do so is to suppose that the humanity of Jesus Christ subsists by itself; it is to give him another personality, and consequently to add a fourth person to the Trinity."

The council denominates painting a "detestible art," and pronounces it the original source of idolatry; "for having no hope of a resurrection, they (the painters) invented this illusion, to render as present what was not so. But as to the saints who reign with God, it is doing them an injury to represent them in dead materials, by a Pagan art."

"The council acknowledges the blessed Virgin Mary as the most exalted of creatures, and teaches that we ought to have recourse to her intercession as very powerful with God, and that all the saints, whether they lived under the law of nature, the written law, or the law of grace, ought to be honoured and invoked, according to the tradition of the church."*

Now, from the above narration, I consider it clear, first, that the contest which Vindex says began in the eighth century, did not arise from any considerable diversity of opinion in the Christian world, the whole church, morally speaking, being perfectly agreed in doctrine and in practice; but that it

* Fleury, Concil. tom. vii. page 524, 528.

sprung altogether from the will of an emperor, whom ignorance had made a fanatic, and whom fanaticism impelled to commence the reform of the church, and to support his own opinions by acts of violence and persecution.

Secondly, that the council summoned was manifestly under the powerful influence of fear, arising from the cruel and despotic proceedings of the presiding emperor against all who opposed his will.*

Thirdly, that the council being called together by no canonical authority, and being moreover composed of bishops not assembled from Christendom in general, but only from such provinces of the east as were subject to the immediate control of the emperor, could not fairly be called a general council.

Fourthly, I conclude that whatever universality or importance, Vindex may wish to give to this council, he must, as a member of the Church of England, condemn the whole of its proceedings except its anathemas against Catholics. For to say nothing of the childish and laughable reasons it assigns for condemning the use of images and pictures, its decisions militate as strongly against every class of Protestants as against Catholics. For, in the first place, it entirely agrees with the Catholic Church, on what Dr. Moysey calls the "adoration," and what Catholics call "the invocation of the saints." In the next place, it is not merely the worship of images which the council condemns, but the very making of them, or having them for any purpose, or in any place.

Were its decrees to be executed in England, as they were in Constantinople and throughout the different provinces of the Eastern Empire, there is scarcely a single church, a single print shop, or a single private house in the kingdom, that would escape spoliation, or a single inhabitant who would escape condemnation. In this city we should see the officers of public justice hastening to the Abbey Church, tearing down the painting over the communion-table, and hurling from their exalted station the six colossal statutes of David and the apostles, to mingle their broken fragments with those of their brethren from the Catholic Chapel. We should see the same men rushing into Dr. Moysey's church and breaking to pieces the sacreligious representation of the third person of the sacred

* Even Gibbon himself is "inclined to suspect that on this occasion the great majority of the prelates sacrificed their secret conscience to the temptations of hope and fear." *Decline and Fall*, &c. chap. 49. Many of them afterwards repented and returned to the unity of the Church.



Paul the Abbot. See note, page 81.

Trinity. We should see them demolishing, before it has yet received the admiration due to it, the elegant east window in the beautiful new church in James-street, on account of the multiplied emblems of the Trinity which it contains. Bathwick, St. Michael's, the fashionable Octagon, and in short, I believe, every church and chapel of the Establishment in Bath, would mourn at least the loss of one or more good paintings, which form now their principal ornaments. Nor would any distinction be made between the altar-pieces of the Established Church and those of the Catholic Chapel. All would be carried, in equal dishonour, together with heaps of paintings, prints, scriptural engravings, &c. collected from all the shops and private houses in the city, and consumed by one common fire before the Town-hall. Nor is this all. The Archdeacon and all the clergy of Bath, as well as many of the laity, who

lost their pictures, would be called upon to subscribe solemnly to the justice of these proceedings, and perhaps to trample on their own representations of the Redeemer.* It would be in vain, that Dr. Moysey and his two friends would press forward to explain, that *they* were the real orthodox Christians who preached charges and wrote pamphlets against the Catholics; in vain that they would entreat, at least, for the privilege of having their pictures and images burnt at a separate fire; in vain, that each of these divines would urge his respective explanation of the second commandment. To the Arch-deacon's decision, that the commandment forbids us only to *bow down in prayer*; to the opinion of the warlike author of "*Catholicism Sifted*," that the commandment forbids us to *make images for any religious use*; to the decree of Vindex, that the commandment forbids us to *bow down at all*, the same answer would be given. You have employed, it would be said, the detestible art of painting to make representations of Christ, his mother, and the apostles. Nay, you, Mr. Arch-deacon, have not been ashamed to put up, or to suffer in your church the figure of a dove, to lead the people to erroneous notions of the Deity, and to circumscribe, within the dimensions of a small circular window, the immense Divinity. It is of no use to pretend that you did not worship these things; it matters not what reason you had for making them. "He who makes the image, and he who adores it, are guilty of the same blasphemy and the same malediction will fall on both."†

Lastly, I conclude from the above narrative, that the image breakers of the eighth century, were a set of ignorant or misguided men, who, under the influence of a wild and violent fanaticism, disturbed the peace of the Church, and were guilty of follies and excesses at which, every liberal Protestant of the present day must blush, and which can find no parallel in history, except in the barbarous ravages which the same spirit produced in England during the reigns of Edward the Sixth, Elizabeth, and Cromwell, and under the guidance of such men as the writers of the Book of Homilies and their modern admirers.

* This form of abjuration was frequently demanded under pain of death. An image of Jesus Christ was placed on one side and a rack on the other. "Paul," said one of the imperial governors to a venerable old abbot, who was brought before him as a Catholic idolator, "Paul, choose one of these two things; either trample on that image, or mount that rack." "God forbid," answered the old man, "that I should trample on thy image, my Lord Jesus," and bowing down he paid it the accustomed token of respect; or, as Vindex would say, he worshipped it. He was stripped naked, stretched on the rack, hung with his head downwards over a fire and burnt to death." Fleury, tom. ix. page 443.

† See the foregoing Decree of the Council.

Hitherto, the faith of the Church, on the subject of images, had not been established by any express definition, and could only be collected from the general belief and practice of the faithful. The use of sacred representations, whether in private or in public, had been introduced among Christians under the sanction of reason alone ; and the honours, that were paid them, were, in like manner, either dictated by the common feelings of our nature, or copied from the usages of civil life. A mother kissed the picture of a departed child in a moment of painful recollection, and in a moment of pious feeling, she did the same to the picture or image of her dying Redeemer. She suspected as little idolatry in one case as the other, and in the opinions of Catholics she committed as little. It was customary, in those times, to bow to the statues or pictures of the emperors, just as it is customary in England to bow to the king's throne. It was intended in the former case, as it is in the latter, as a mark of respect for the sovereign himself. It was customary, at the same period and for the same reason, to carry the pictures or statues of the emperors in procession, and to burn torches or tapers, incense or perfumes, before them. These acts were perfectly understood. Neither the emperor wished to receive nor the people intended to pay him *divine honours*. Even the emperor Leo and the other iconoclast emperors, still allowed these honours to be paid to their own images, whilst they maintained it was idolatry to pay them to those of Christ and his saints. The Catholics however of those days could not understand, why an image of the world's Redeemer, should not be deserving of as high honours as that of an emperor, nor did they suppose that so long as they gave to the former only what it was admitted could lawfully be given to the latter, they could be guilty of idolatry ; or, rather, the idea of idolatry never once entered their minds. In the city the loyal Christian had burnt his taper or his incense before the picture of the emperor, to shew that he loved his sovereign ; he proceeded to the church and did the same thing before the picture of Jesus Christ, to shew that he loved his God. These same acts were applied to the pictures and images of the saints, to the cross, the altar, the book of the gospels, and other things immediately connected with the service of God.

It is upon the use of these ceremonies, as applied to pious representations, that the image breakers, in the eighth century wholly founded their charge of idolatry against the Catholics.

The latter denied the justice of the charge on these simple ambiguous acts which depended wholly for their meaning grounds; first, that the external ceremonies themselves were upon the intention of the employer. Secondly, that knowing that images were not gods, nor entitled to divine honours, the Catholics did not intend to pay them any such. Thirdly, that their intention in burning tapers or incense before the representations of Christ and his saints, was the same as that of their adversaries in applying the same acts to the statues of the emperors, to the cross and to the books of the gospel.

That such was the belief and practice of the church in the eighth century, when Leo began his reform, is manifest from the preceding narrative, and will appear still more undeniably so from the decisions and explanations of the second council of Nice, which was held for the express purpose of stating authoritatively what was the actual doctrine of the church on the subject of images, and of composing the differences which the ignorance and tyranny of the emperors had unhappily occasioned.

The second council of Nice was held at the request of Terasius, the newly elected patriarch of Constantinople, in the year 786. It was composed of 377 bishops from the east and the west, with legates from Rome who presided in the name of the Pope, and delegates from the four great patriarchal sees of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria. The Pope had demanded from the reigning emperor and the senate, a solemn oath that the council should be perfectly free and uncontrolled in its deliberations;* and indeed, as its decrees are described by Vindex as being conformable to the general belief at the time, there is no reason to suspect that its decisions were not perfectly free.

We will now examine the accuracy of the account given of this council by Vindex. "To decide the question" (respecting images) says he, "two councils were assembled. The one assembled at Constantinople condemned image and picture worship as idolatrous. The other which met at Nice asserted it to be lawful? not allowing, however, any representations higher than those of Christ and his saints."

What does Vindex mean by representations *higher than those of Christ*? Does he believe Christ to be God? If so, what can be higher? Does he mean to say that the council

* Fleury, tom. ix. page, 520.

forbad the representation of the other persons of the Trinity? If so, he is mistaken, for they expressly approved of the *ancient* custom of representing the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.* Does he mean to say that they forbad the representation of the *divine nature*? The Catholic Church at the present day equally does, and equally has forbidden it at all times.

Vindex proceeds. "Their argument rested on this ground: *service* they exclusively appropriated to God, but not *worship*." What does Vindex mean by *service*? The council appropriated *Latreia* to God, by which word they did not mean *service* in its common sense, as Vindex, if he has read the council, well knows; but that peculiar worship, which, "according to our faith, belongs exclusively to the divine nature,"† and which the councils expressly forbids to be given to any creature. "Every act of *worship*," says Vindex, "was founded on this principle, that the honour paid to the type is referred to the prototype; from which must be inferred that the degree of worship to be paid to the representation was to be correspondent to the dignity of the original. Whence it is plain that *worship* in every instance, and not *respect*, (as you call it, p. 14.) was to be paid to the image." Again, I ask what does Vindex mean by *worship*? Does he mean *divine worship*? If so, I have already mentioned, and he himself admits, that this was reserved by the council to God alone. Does he mean such worship as *he* might pay to the *worshipful* the Mayor of Bath, or as he has perhaps paid to his wife, or such as Abraham and Joshua paid to the angels, or the nobles of David to the king? in fine, does he, to use the words of the council itself, mean a mere "*honorary worship*," that does not imply any divinity in the objects to which it is applied? Then do I conceive that such worship may very properly be termed in English *respect*, and not very properly *worship*, particularly when placed in opposition to *respect*. Vindex goes on, "An express reserve was indeed made in favour of the *Latreia*, or service to God; but a provision, equally explicit, was made in favour of the honorary adoration of images, which was intended to amount to *direct worship*; and this is evident enough, both from the words of the Nicene council, and from the testimony of succeeding writers, however the doctrine may be diluted by modern expositors of the Church of Rome."

Again, I must ask Vindex what he means by *direct wor-*

* Fleury, tom. ix. page 55, concil 371.

† Syn. vii. act 7.

ship? He has just admitted that the council reserved to God alone the service called *Latreia*. Does he mean to say that in the next breath, the council allowed also to the images of saints what they had just reserved to God alone? This is incredible. What then does he mean when he says that the “honorary adoration,” allowed by the council to images, was intended to amount to *direct worship*? Is his mind still running upon his new explanation of the commandment, which makes the act of *bowing down* and *divine worship* synonymous terms? Or, does he wish, by the use of ambiguous words to involve his real meaning in a cloud, and thus withdraw it from minute investigation? He had undertaken to prove that the Catholic Church did not reserve *Latreia* to God alone, but gave it also to images. If the Nicene council teaches this doctrine, why does he not say so at once? Why employ so many ambiguous words when he has unequivocal ones at command? But that his explanation is right, he says, “is evident enough, both from the words of the Nicene council and from the testimony of succeeding writers.” Why then not give the words of the council? Why enter into an abstruse metaphysical dissertation, which not one of his readers can possibly understand, to elucidate a text which is “evident enough” of itself? It is indeed true, that the words of the council are clear enough, but the reader shall judge whether they are clear enough in favour of what Vindex wished them to prove.

“Having” says the council, “employed upon the subject all care and diligence, we decree, that venerable and holy images, whether formed in painted colours, of mosaic work, or of any other suitable materials, be set forth publicly in the churches of God, whether on the sacred vessels and vestments, or on the walls, and on tablets; also in private houses and in the public ways, in the same manner as it is done with the figure of the holy and life-giving cross; namely, the images of our Lord God and Saviour Jesus Christ, of our immaculate lady the holy mother of God, of the glorious angels, and of all the saints and pious men. For the more frequently the eye is fixed upon these representations, the more powerfully is the mind of the beholder raised to the remembrance and admiration of the originals. Also, *that the kiss and honorary adoration be given to them; not the true worship of Latreia, which, according to our faith, belongs only to the divine nature;* but that incense and lights be employed to honour*

* “καὶ ταύταις ἀσπασμὸν καὶ τιμητικὴν προσκυνήσιν ἀπονομεῖν, οὐ μὲν τὴν κατὰ πίστιν ἡμῶν ἀληθινὴν λατρείαν, ἣ πέπει μόνῃ τῇ εἰα φύσει, &c.”

*them, according to the religious custom of our ancestors, in the same manner as is done to the figure of the precious and life-giving cross, the book of the holy gospels, and other sacred objects.”**

Now, I appeal to the reader, whether it would have been easy to draw up a decree in terms less liable to misconstruction. In the first place, the council decrees that pictures of Christ and his saints be set up in churches in the same manner as the cross was set up by the Iconoclasts themselves. In this it perfectly agrees with the practice of the Church of England. In the next place, it ordains that an “*honorary worship*” be paid to these pictures; but it expressly says that this honorary worship must *not be Latreia or divine worship*, because “*according to the faith of the Church, this worship belongs to God alone.*” Lastly, the council explains what it means by “*honorary worship*,” and says it is to be expressed by the kiss, by incense, and by lights, which acts are to be exhibited to the images of the saints in the same manner as they were exhibited to the cross, the book of the gospels and other sacred objects by the Iconoclasts themselves. Now does Vindex mean to say that not only the Catholics of the eighth century, but his friends the image breakers, paid divine worship to the cross, to the book of the gospels, and a variety of other things comprised under the terms “*sacred objects*?” Does he mean to say that the acts of *kissing*, of burning lights or incense, necessarily amount to *direct worship*, with whatever intention they are employed? But he knows that the act of kissing, prescribed by the Nicene council, is still given, by the Established Church of England, to the book of the gospels in the administration of oaths. He knows, moreover, if he has read the proceedings of the council, that lights and incense were, at that time, burnt before the pictures of the emperors as a mere mark of respect; and he knows, or might know, that even to this day in the Catholic Church the same ceremonies are applied to the altar, the cross, the book of the gospels, the ministers of religion, the people, and even to a corpse at a funeral. Will he say that *direct worship* is intended to be paid to all these objects? He knows, in fine, if he has read the proceedings of the council, that it opened with a solemn declaration, that the worship of *Latreia* was due “*to the one true God alone*,”† that it concluded with pronouncing, “*an anath-*

* Syn. vii. act 7.

“*Apertis verbis testamur nos in unum Deum verum Latriam, hoc est cultum et fidem nostram referre et reponere.*” Actio secunda.

ema upon all who should say that Christians worshipped images as gods ;”* and that during its different discussions, it over and over again repeated, that neither the saints nor their images were to be worshipped as gods, but that the saints themselves were to be honoured only as the servants and friends of God, and that no mark of honour was to be paid to their images, but such as custom authorized to be paid to the images of living emperors, or to various material objects employed in the service of God. He knows, in fine, that the grand principle on which the council defended the doctrine of the Catholic Church against the objections of the Inconoclasts, was that the former applied only the very same external ceremonies, and with the very same internal motives to the images of Christ and his saints, which the latter applied to the cross of Christ, to the book of the gospels and to other sacred objects.

It may be proper here to mention a letter which was addressed by the council to the emperor after it had concluded its decrees, both because it confirms the accuracy of the above statements, and particularly because it explains the ceremony of the adoration or kissing of the cross on Good Friday, which Vindex has brought forward a thousand years later as a proof of the idolatry of the Catholic Church. They begin by explaining the meaning of the Greek word προσκυνειν, to adore or worship, which they observe often means no more than *to salute, or kiss*, and bring, as an instance of this, the ceremony of Good Friday. “When we salute the cross,” says the council, “we sing, We adore thy cross, O Lord, and we adore the lance that has pierced thy side ; which words manifestly imply no more than to salute, as we actually kiss the cross at the time. But if the word adoration be often found in scripture to signify the spiritual worship of *Latreia*, it is because this word has different significations. For there is an *adoration* which implies a mixture of honour, love and fear, as when we adore your majesty, (the emperor,) there is an *adoration* of fear alone, as when Jacob *adored* Esau. It is for this reason that the scripture, wishing to instruct us, says, ‘the Lord thy God shalt thou worship (προσκυνησεις) and him only shalt thou serve, (λατρευσεις.) It places the word worship as an indefinite term, which may be applied to other beings beside God, but it restrains to God alone the service of

* “Qui dicunt quod Christiani imagines ut Deos adorent, anathema.” Actio septima.

Latreia, and to him alone we give it.”* Vindex enters into a long and learned dissertation to prove, that the council was wrong in its explanation of this passage of scripture. I should have been happy to have saved him the trouble, as it is quite immaterial to the question, whether it were wrong or right, and as I am rather inclined to agree with him. The *doctrine* of the council is not at all founded on this text, and its *doctrine* is all we consider ourselves bound to receive, or interested to defend.† But will Vindex really conclude, that the Church did not reserve *Latreia* to God, when she employed this text to prove that she did? Did she attempt to prove a doctrine which she did not teach? Will he maintain that the Church paid divine worship to the emperors, when she here tells the emperor himself that she does not? or that she pays *divine worship* to the cross on Good Friday, when she has continued to declare, for the last thousand years, that she has no such intention?‡

* Fleury, tom. ix. page 559.

† Thus an Englishman thinks himself bound to obey an *Act of Parliament*; but he approves or disapproves of any illustrations which may be brought to shew its propriety.

‡ N.B. it is curious enough, that the very same ceremony is used in paying homage to the King of England at this day, that is used by Catholics to the cross on Good Friday; namely, kneeling before and kissing. Selden, tells us, that this act of civil homage was originally used by the Pagans in the worship of their gods, that from them it passed to the Pagan emperors, who at first were half wishful to receive *divine honours*, from them to the Christian emperors and the kings of this country, who disclaim all right to *divine worship*. Whether the ceremony of Good Friday had a similar origin, I know not; but since its introduction into christianity it certainly has been no more intended for *divine worship* than the homage paid to the king.

§ 5.

Refutation of different charges from St. Thomas Aquinas, and other Theologians.—Council of Trent totally misrepresented by Vindex.—Its decree.—Bossuet's Exposition de la foi.

To confirm the explanation Vindex had given of the doctrine of the Nicene council, he gives us an account of a dispute which took place amongst the schoolmen of the middle ages, in the following terms: "St. Thomas Aquinas set his face against the reserve that was made in favour of the *Latreia* to God. And so also did others besides the angelic doctor: and the view they took of the subject was this: they thought the same *degree* of worship was due to the image, which was due to the original; that the act should be precisely the same in both instances. For to pay the image *one sort* of worship and the original another, was in their estimation, to worship the image for the sake of itself, and not on account of the original, which would be idolatry. Whereas, others, after the Nicene council, persisted in thinking that idolatry would be the consequence of not worshipping the image in an inferior degree; which differences of opinion bring one to a sort of dilemma: for let a man choose which side he will, he is sure to pass for an idolater on the other side." Now, supposing the whole of this statement, and the conclusions which Vindex draws from it to be correct, I really do not see what he has gained. Has he proved that his account of the doctrine of the Nicene council was correct? Not at all. The only thing he has proved, is, that in the thirteenth century, namely, five hundred years after the council of Nice, certain scholastic divines, who like Vindex himself, were fond of metaphysics, undertook to analyze the worship or respect paid to images, and having bewildered themselves in the mazes of their own subtleties, called each other idolaters. But Vindex will excuse me when I say, that I much question the truth of this statement. I do not think that any of the divines of the dark ages were so uncivil as to hurl at each other's heads the deadly charge of idolatry. I am inclined to think, that this is all the work of our Church of England theologian. I have read St. Thomas and Bellarmine, the two authors whose names

he mentions, and there is nothing of the kind in them. The other part of his account, though involved in that same unfortunate obscurity, and subject to the same unfavourable misconstruction, which attends all his explanations of Catholic doctrine or opinion, is, when properly understood, not materially incorrect. But to me it appears to prove directly the opposite of what he wished. "The view," says Vindex, "they, (St. Thomas and his party) took of the subject was this: they thought the same *degree* of worship was due to the image which was due to the original; that the act should be precisely the same in both instances." Here Vindex is out of his depth. St. Thomas maintained, *that no worship or respect was due to the material image itself, because it was not an intellectual being*,* and that any respect paid to it was designed *wholly* for the being it represented. Consequently, in his opinion, there were no *two instances* in the case. Vindex proceeds, "For to pay the image *one sort* of worship and the original *another*, was in their estimation to worship the image for the sake of itself, and not on account of the original, which would be idolatry." It appears then, from this passage, that St. Thomas and his friends had at least a dread of idolatry, and were anxious to avoid it. Indeed they might well; for St. Thomas teaches that "Idolatry is the greatest of all crimes,"† that can be committed. In the next place, it appears that they considered that it would be idolatry to worship the image on account of itself; therefore it will follow, I think, that they did not consider the image as a god, or place it on a level with God, or intend to worship it as a god. "Others," says Vindex, "persisted in thinking that idolatry would be the consequence of not worshipping the image in an *inferior degree*." Thus it appears that both parties were equally anxious to avoid idolatry, that both equally denied to created objects the honour due only to God, and yet Vindex will not let either of them escape condemnation.

What a pity his metaphysics are not as acute in discovering the innocence, as in contriving the guilt of his neighbour!

The dispute which Vindex has taken such pains to misrepresent, was simply this. All parties were perfectly agreed upon *the doctrines of the church*, which, as I have proved, went no farther than to teach that the same external marks of respect

* Imagini Christi in quantum est res quædam (puta lignum sculptum vel pictum) nulla reverentia exhibetur, quia reverentia nonnisi rationali creaturæ debetur. Summa. 3a. quest. xxv. art. 3.

† 2a 2æ Quest. xciv. art. 3.

might be paid to the images of Christ and his saints, which were paid to the book of the gospels, to the cross, to the statues of the emperors, and the like; but that images were not to be considered as gods, nor to be honoured as such. Farther than this, neither the decrees of the council of Nice, nor the faith of the Church has ever gone; and so far the divines of the middle ages were all perfectly agreed. But for their own amusement, or for want of better employment, they undertook to analyze the above simple doctrine, and a grand dispute ensued on the following very interesting subject. When a man kisses the crucifix, the book of the gospels, and the image of St. Peter, with the simple intention of paying honour to the originals, is the act in all these cases to be called by the same name, or does the difference of the object entitle the act to a different appellation? St. Thomas was of the latter opinion: most other divines, I believe, were of the former. He reasoned thus. When we kiss the image of Christ crucified, we do it in honour of Christ, not of the material substance, which being without life and intellect, is deserving of no respect whatever. Therefore, as our intention in kissing the crucifix is simply to honour Jesus Christ, who is God, it must be an act of *Latreia*; and therefore we may say that the image of Christ is entitled to *Latreia*. But when we kiss the statue of St. Peter, with the intention of honouring St. Peter, this act is only *Douleia*, because St. Peter himself being only a man is not entitled to *Latreia*. Those who were opposed to St. Thomas thought that images themselves, though lifeless and material substances, were still entitled to a certain respect, as being the representations of holy things, and therefore they maintained, that, whether we kissed an image of Christ, or of a saint, the act must be called merely *Douleia*. Now, could not Vindex, with all his metaphysical acumen, if he had really exerted his powers, have discovered that both these opinions might be very innocent? Was his charity quite compelled to pronounce them idolatrous? I am surprised he did not perceive, that in this case he condemns his own Church.

The bishops of the Established Church on the day of the coronation, bowed to the altar. This act, according to St. Thomas, could not be intended for the altar itself, because the altar is an inanimate object, and therefore deserving of no honour. The act was therefore intended for God, and consequently was an act of *Latreia*. Yet the object to which this act was immediately directed was the altar, and therefore ac-

according to St. Thomas, it may be said, that the bishops paid an act of *Latreia* to the altar. But will it follow from this reasoning, that St. Thomas “set his face against the reserve of *Latreia* to God alone?” or that the bishops were guilty of idolatry, by paying to an ornamental table the honour due only to God?

When the English bishops and peers bow to the king’s throne, this act, according to St. Thomas, cannot be intended for the throne itself, because the throne is an inanimate object, and therefore deserving of no respect. It is therefore intended for the Sovereign, and may consequently be termed an act of homage; and as the throne is the immediate object which receives this act, it may, in the phraseology of St. Thomas, be said that an act of homage is paid to the king’s throne. But are we thence to conclude that St. Thomas “sets his face against homage being reserved to the king alone,” or that the bishops and peers are guilty of high treason, for giving to an old chair, the homage which belongs exclusively to the sovereign?

A wife possesses the miniature of her absent husband.* In a moment of affectionate recollection she kisses the picture. This mark of affection, according to St. Thomas, cannot be intended for the picture, because the picture is an inanimate object, and therefore deserving of no such honour. It is therefore intended wholly for the husband himself, as much as if it were bestowed upon his person, and is therefore equally an act of conjugal affection. Yet this act was exhibited to the picture, and therefore St. Thomas would say, that the lady paid an act of conjugal affection to a picture. But will Vindex therefore maintain, that St. Thomas “set his face against the reserve of conjugal affection to the husband alone?” Or that the lady was, on this occasion, guilty of an act of conjugal infidelity?†

* See pages 68 and 69.

† Whoever wishes for a fuller explanation of this scholastic dispute, (with which the Church never interfered, because it did not interfere with her,) will find it in Cabassutius and Bellarmine. The latter author, whilst he shews that the *meaning* of St. Thomas is conformable to the doctrine of the Church, disapproves of his *language* in applying the *Latreia* to images, “as being contrary to the language of the Church in the decrees of her councils; as dangerous, and requiring subtle distinctions to explain it; as offensive to the ears of Catholics; and as affording an occasion to Heretics to blaspheme with greater license.” “Dicere populo imaginem Christi vel crucem adorandam esse *Latriæ* cultu, illo ipso, quo adoratur Deus, non caret magno periculo; nam qui defendunt imagines adorari *Latria*, coguntur uti subtilissimis distinctionibus, quas vix ipsimet intelligunt, nedum populus imperitus. Iste modus loquendi offendit aures Catholicorum et præbet occasionem hæreticis liberius blasphemandi.” De imag. cap 22.

If Vindex has really read St. Thomas, and really understood him in the sense he has described, I would recommend him in future, never more to meddle with the metaphysics of the dark ages. If he has taken his quotations and explanations of St. Thomas, as he has most others, at second hand, I hope he will learn to mistrust the statements of former anti-catholic polemics, many of whom have had archdeacons to defend as well as himself, and were often driven to as great distresses by their “lofty and dictatorial” opponents.

“———Per insidias iter est, formasque ferarum
Uique viam teneas nulloque errore traharis
Per tamen adversi gradieris cornua tauri.”

Vindex’s quotation from Naclantus, Bishop of Clugium,* is copied *literatim*, together with the *wary* translation from his favourite Book of Homilies;† As this is probably all he knows of the author he quotes, he could not be expected to inform his readers that this same Naclantus was one of the bishops who assisted at the general council of Trent, and that, however unnecessary *he* might think it, for caution’s sake (*ad cautelum*) to say that we *adore before the image*, rather than that we *adore the image*, the council of Trent was of a contrary opinion, and therefore uses the words to *kneel before* rather than *to adore*, when speaking of images.‡ Naclantus was a follower of the opinion of St. Thomas, and must be understood in the same sense when he speaks of giving *Latreia* to an image. If he had meant any thing else, he would have been condemned as a Heretic by the council of Trent: as we shall see presently.

The passage in the Roman Pontifical,|| which asserts that “*Latreia* is due to the processional cross,” which is carried side by side with the emperor’s sword, must be understood in the same sense. When Vindex saw it asserted that *Latreia* was due to a little cross carried at the end of a long pole, might he not have suspected that these words could not be understood in their ordinary sense? Could he suppose that the whole Christian world required his sagacity to inform them that such an object was not a God, nor might be honoured as such?

* Letter, page 16.

† Page 119, Oxford edit. 1816.

‡ “Ut per imagines quas osculamur et coram quibus caput aperimus et procumbimus, Christum adoremus,” &c. Sessio 25.

|| Letter, page 21.

Vindex concludes his dissertation on these scholastic disputes with the following triumphant appeal. "Thus you see Sir, that this distinction" (of *mere respect* and *divine worship*) "which to you appears so easy and simple, has been the means of producing contradiction and controversy among men of no mean abilities and authority even in your own Church." But Vindex will recollect that when I spoke of the above distinction being easy and simple, I spoke of it as stated by the decisions of the Church, not as tortured and perplexed by the writers of the dark ages, much less as bewildered and misinterpreted by himself. There is no subject however clear, which may not be obscured by writers, who, like the goddess-born Æneas, have the privilege of moving in a cloud, whenever it suits their convenience to be unintelligible, or who, like too many modern impugnors of Catholic doctrines, have the confidence to explain what they have not the faculty to understand.

Vindex continues to inform us, that on the doctrine of the Nicene council "the Church of Rome built a superstruction of her own, permitting, both by connivance and authority, (according to Bellarmine,) the representation of the Deity and the Trinity, which was held in abhorrence by the Nicene council." What means "permitting by authority?" I can understand what "to permit by *connivance*" means. It means to sanction any thing by not opposing it "To permit by *authority*," therefore must, I suppose, mean to sanction by some authoritative decision or command. It seems to me as if Vindex wished to assert as much, or be understood to assert more, but was afraid to speak out. At all events, he must mean to say that Bellarmine asserts the Catholic Church to *authorize* or *command* some representations which are deemed unlawful by the Church of England. Now Bellarmine teaches that it is only an *opinion* in the church that images of God and the Trinity may be made, and that she only *tolerates* or *admits* such representations, *as not absolutely unlawful*.* He expresses it, indeed, as his own opinion, that God may be represented in the form in which he has appeared, particularly in historical compositions; as in representing the expulsion of Adam and Eve from paradise. And is not this done by Protestants as well as Catholics? He *thinks* also, that God the

* "Dico, non esse tam certum in Ecclesia, an sint faciendæ imagines Dei sive Trinitatis, quam Christi et Sanctorum: hoc enim confitentur omnes Catholici, et ad *fidem* pertinet, illud est in *opinione*." Disput. Bellarmini. de Imaginibus, cap 8.

"Hic enim tantum defendimus non esse in universum damnandus ejusmodi imagines." *ibidem*.

Father may be represented under the form of an old man, in the same manner as God the holy ghost is represented in the form of a dove. And does not the Church of England think the same? But he quotes the council of Trent to prove that *if pictures of this kind be used*, it is the duty of bishops and preachers to explain to the ignorant that such representations are only figurative, and must not be supposed to be likenesses of God. Does the Church of England take the same wise precautions? Finally, Bellarmine teaches, that was any one to make a picture of the Deity, as an exact resemblance of him in form and nature, he would make an idol.* Does Dr. Moysey “permit by connivance or authority,” these *modest* misstatements of our doctrine by his anonymous defender?

Vindex continues. “Thus matters stood up to the famous council of Trent, to the canons and decrees of which, you so triumphantly refer us. And what say these canons on the point before us? why truly that which amounts to nothing. By turning to Conc. Trident. Sess. 25. you will there perceive, that they decreed that *due worship* should be given to images; but they do not condescend to tell us in what that due worship consisted. In fact, the council of Trent meant to leave the question in the same glorious uncertainty in which they found it. They wished not to cast a stumbling block in the way of any party; their desire was to conciliate, not to offend; and therefore, they purposely adopted phrases of an ambiguous cast.”

But if such be really the character of the decree of the council of Trent, why does not Vindex give it to his readers? There is no argument so strong against an opponent as the exposing of his evasions, his equivocations and studied ambiguities. Why then did he not thus expose the council of Trent, and give, to the contempt of the world, that decree which decrees nothing, and which uses ambiguous terms, without explanation, for the purpose of deceiving? I will supply his omission at all risks. The following are the words of the council.

“The holy synod commands all bishops and others charged with the instruction of the people, that, conformably to the custom of the Catholic and Apostolic Church received from the primitive ages of Christianity, to the concurrent doctrine of the holy fathers and the decrees of the sacred councils, they

* “Observandum est, tribus modis posse aliquid pingi. Uno modo ad exprimendam perfectam similitudinem formæ et naturæ rei ipsius, et hoc modo res corporeæ solum pinguntur, quæ lineamentis et coloribus præditæ sunt. Et si quis hac ratione Deum pingere tentaret, is verum idolum constitueret.” Ibidem.

be particularly diligent in instructing the faithful on the intercession and invocation of saints, the honouring of relics, and the legitimate use of images; teaching them that the saints reigning with Christ, offer up to God their prayers for mankind; that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, aid and assistance for the purpose of obtaining favours from God, through his son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only redeemer and saviour. That the images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother of God, and other saints, may be had and retained particularly in churches, and that due honour and veneration be given to them; not that it is to be believed that there exists in them any divinity or excellence on account of which they are to be honoured, or that any thing is to be asked of them, or any confidence placed in them, as was anciently done by the gentiles who trusted in idols, (Psalm 134, 125,) but because the honour which is exhibited to them is referred to the originals which they represent; so that by means of the images which we kiss, and *before which* we uncover our heads and kneel, we adore Christ, and venerate his saints whose likeness they bear.”*

Now the reader will observe that the words *due worship*, ascribed by Vindex to the council, and twice repeated in italics, *are not* the words of the council. Its words are *due honour and veneration*, which it employed in preference to others to prevent the possibility of mistake. In the next place, the council expressly asserts, that images must not be supposed to contain any divinity or excellence which entitle them to honour; that nothing is to be asked of them, nor any

* “Mandat sancta Synodus omnibus Episcopis et cæteris ducendi munus curamque sustinentibus, ut juxta Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ usum, à primævis, Christianæ religionis temporibus receptum, sanctorumque Patrum consentionem et sacrorum conciliorum decreta; in primis de sanctorum intercessione, invocatione, Reliquiarum honore, et legitimo imaginum usu, fideles diligenter instruant, docentes eos, Sanctos unâ cum Christo regnantes, orationes suas pro hominibus Deo offerre, bonum atque utile esse suppliciter eos invocare et ob beneficia impetrandæ à Deo per filium ejus Jesum Christum, Domini nostri, qui solus noster redemptor et salvator est, ad eorum orationes, opem, auxiliumque confugere.”

“Imagines porro, Christi, Deiparræ Virginis, et aliorum Sanctorum, in templis præsertim habendas et retinendas, eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam; non quod credatur inesse aliqua in iis divinitas, vel virtus, propter quam sint colendæ, vel quod ab eis sit aliquid petendum; vel quod fiducia in imaginibus sit figenda; veluti olim fiebat à Gentibus, quæ in idolis spem suam collocabant, (Psalm 134) sed quoniam honos, qui eis exhibetur refertur ad prototypa, quæ illæ repræsentant: ita ut per imagines, quas osculamur, et coram quibus caput aperimus et procubimus, Christum adoremus, et sanctos, quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur, id quod conciliorum, præsertim, vero secundæ Nicænæ Synodi decretis contra imaginum oppugnatores est sanctitum.” Council. Trident. Sess. 25.

confidence placed in them, as was done by the Pagans ; that in short, the respect, which is shewn them, is intended wholly for the beings they represent. And, does all this, “ amount to nothing ? ” is this merely decreeing that “ *due worship* is to be given to images, but not condescending to say in what *due worship* consists ? ” Is this, “ leaving the question in a state of glorious uncertainty, and purposely adopting phrases of an ambiguous cast ? ”

After describing the use of historical representations of the mysteries of our redemption and the actions of holy persons, as being calculated to instruct and confirm the people in the truths of religion, to excite them to return thanks to God for favours, and conform their lives to the imitation of his faithful servants ; in short, “ to teach them to adore and love God, and cultivate true piety,” the council proceeds. “ If any abuses may have crept into these holy and salutary observances, it is the earnest wish of the sacred council that such abuses be entirely abolished ; so that no representation of any false doctrines be set up, which may expose the ignorant to the occasion of dangerous error. But if it sometimes happen that historical narrations taken from the sacred scripture, (when deemed useful for the instruction of the unlearned,) be expressed in visible representations, the people must be taught that the Deity is not represented, under the supposition that he can be seen by corporeal eyes, or expressed by colours or forms. Let all superstitions, (continues the council) in the invocation of saints, the veneration of relics, and the use of holy images be taken away ; all base gain abolished ; all levity avoided, and no images be gaudily painted or adorned,” &c. The decree concludes with charging the bishops to see that every thing in their churches be regulated with that moderation, decency, and propriety which becomes the house of God ; that no unusual representations or new relics be admitted into public or private places of worship, without the approbation of the bishop ; that he himself, in matters of doubt or difficulty shall not act without the advice of a council of divines, the co-operation of his metropolitan, or in some cases, the consent of the Pope.*

Such is the decree of the council of Trent on the subject of images. Of its agreement or disagreement with the assertions of Vindex, I shall say nothing. A young man in a Catholic College, who had studied divinity three months, making such

* Concil. Trident. Sess. 25.

assertions to a company of Catholic schoolboys, would be laughed at for his ignorance, or punished for his impudence. From a grave divine of the Established Church to the enlightened people of England, they may meet with a more favourable reception.

It is fair, however, to observe that there is one part of Vindex's statement which is quite correct, and that is, where he asserts that the doctrine of the council of Trent is in "strict unison" with that of the council of Nice. But the only conclusion I can allow him to draw from this circumstance is, that he has grossly misrepresented the doctrine of both.

Vindex continues. "Since the sixteenth century, your Church has not taken upon herself to decide the question, and for reasons best known to herself." If Vindex means that the Church has not called another general council to decide the question, he is right; and her reason is, because she considered that she had done it, as clearly as it could be done, in the council of Trent, and because it would be very troublesome and inconvenient to summon together the bishops of all Christendom, every time an anonymous writer chose to misrepresent her doctrines, or to describe her decrees without having read them.* But if he means to assert that, since the sixteenth century, the Church has not constantly expressed her adherence to the decisions of her former general Councils, as occasion seemed to require, he is mistaken. In my last letter to Dr. Moysey, I referred him to "the Exposition of the Catholic faith, by Bossuet," for a full explanation of our doctrine, which I fear he has not taken the trouble to read. This work was first published in 1671, has been approved by the Pope, and sanctioned by the general applause of the Episcopacy, and is admitted by all Catholics as a work of standard authority. As it has been the means of convincing many Protestants that the Catholic doctrine is not what it is often asserted to be, and as it may possibly produce the same happy effect, if not on Dr. Moysey or his defenders, at least on some of my readers, I shall give his statement on the invocation of saints, the use of images, and of relics, at full length in an appendix to this letter.

* "If Mr. Wesley be so credulous as to believe that the pope has horns, must we convene a general council to declare that his forehead is smooth?" *Miscellaneous Tracts by the Rev. Arthur O'Leary.*

§ 6

Objections from Catholic observances answered.—Ceremony and office of Good Friday.—Kissing of Crosses, &c.—Devotions to the blessed Virgin Mary, &c.—St. Scholastica.—The gunpowder treason.—Want of candour in Vindex.

After the above exposition of our doctrine, I shall not detain the reader long in explaining the different observances which Vindex adduces to prove that, however the Catholic Church “has taken good care to be silent about the *doctrine*” (we have seen how silent she has been!) “yet she unequivocally sanctions the *practice* of allowing the *Latreia* to be due to images.”

The first *practice* he brings forward is the ceremony of the *adoration*, or, as it is generally called in English, the *kissing* of the cross on Good Friday. As the council of Nice has already told us that the word *adoration* in this case, means no more than the act of respectfully and affectionately *saluting* or *kissing*, I shall only notice the other objections which Vindex brings against the respect we shew to the cross. He quotes the following address: “O cross! more splendid than the stars, &c. *save* this present assembly, this day met together in thy praises.” As he does not tell us what are his objections to this passage, I can only judge from observing that in the Latin he has put the word *save* in capitals. I suppose therefore he means to insinuate that we call upon the crucifix to *save* us. This certainly would be very wicked indeed, and not very wise. Indeed, I wonder it never struck Vindex that there must be many men in the immense Church of all nations, who have just sense enough to see the folly of such a belief, and conscience enough to reject its impiety. Did he really think that it required all the light which burst upon England at the reformation, and which inspires him with such complacency in his superior discernment, to tell the poor, blind, infatuated Roman Catholic, that a little bit of wood which the priest holds in his hands is not able to *save* him?

His next quotation is the following. “Hail O cross! our only hope. In this time of the passion *encrease righteousness to the pious, and give pardon to the guilty.*” His objection

to this passage is, I presume, similar to the last. He wishes it to be thought idolatrous to address ourselves to a lifeless block of wood as if it were the living God. But Vindex is a man of letters, and must, I presume, have studied poetry and rhetoric. Has he forgotten that there are such things as tropes and figures, which authorize the poet or the orator to give life to inanimate objects, to employ the sign for the thing signified, and to bestow personality and intelligence on beings destitute of both? Has he forgotten the names of metonymy exclamation, prosopopœa, &c.? Or has he discovered, in studying the book of Homilies, or some other enlightened production of modern theology, that tropes and figures are idolatrous? Alas! in this case I fear we must send all poets and orators that ever lived, to keep company with the unfortunate painters whom the Iconoclast council decided to be all the wicked makers of idols. Nay, even the orthodox bard who sang—

“ Preserve us Lord by thy dear word,
From Turk and Pope defend us Lord,
Both which would thrust out of his throne
Our Lord Christ Jesus, thy dear son”*

Even this pious and orthodox lover of the muses, will fall a victim to the resistless impulse of poetic fancy, and after edifying by his inspired effusions, the pure and enlightened Church of England for nearly three centuries, be condemned of metonymy and prosopopœa, and doomed for all eternity to keep company, (*heu miserabile fatum!*) with that very Turk and Pope, whom in life he so greatly dreaded, and so piously abhorred. For in his 114th Psalm he sings thus:

“As rams afraid the mountains skipp’d
Their strength did them forsake:
And as the silly trembling lambs
Their tops did beat and shake.

What ailed thee, O sea! that thou
So suddenly didst fly,
Ye roaring waves of Jordan’s flood,
Why turned ye so swiftly?†”

Is it not evident that our Church of England poet is as guilty of tropes and figures as the Catholic bard? Nay he is

* A hymn or prayer from the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England, Oxford edit. 1716.

† Common Prayer, psalm cxiv.

even guilty of ascribing to idols, the very animation which the Catholic poet has ascribed to the cross.

“ Confusion sure shall come to such
As worship idols vain,
Also to those that glory much
Dumb pictures to maintain,

For all the idols of the world,
Which they their Gods do call,
Shall *feel* the power of the Lord,
And down to him shall fall.”*

Here, I say, the poet wickedly ascribes to dead idols the faculty of *feeling*, which implies life. And here he has not even the scripture to back him, though he pretends to be translating it; whereas the Catholic poet has the authority of St. Paul to extenuate his personification of the cross; for the apostle says “ God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.”† Now if St. Paul could assert that the cross was the only thing in which he *gloried*, surely the Catholic poet might have some excuse in saying that the same cross was the only thing in which he *hoped*, and in addressing to it such praises or petitions as his only hope might claim. But I will give the reader the whole hymn from which Vindex has copied his damning extract. If he is a lover of real poetry he will not regret its insertion.

Behold the royal ensigus fly,‡
The cross’s shining mystery;
Where life itself gave up its breath,
And Christ by dying conquered death.

Th’ audacious steel let out a flood
Of water, mixt with saving blood,
Whilst man’s redemption with the tide,
Came rushing from the Saviour’s side.

What David’s faithful numbers told,
Surrounding nations thus unfold;
That God should rule from main to main,
And wood, not steel, assert his reign.

Hail, beauteous tree ! whose branches wore
The purple of his royal gore;
Preferred to bear those arms, from whence
Spring all our blessing and defence.

* Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, psalm xcvi. 7, 8. N. B. There is nothing in David about “ maintaining dumb pictures.” This was a hit at the Papists.

† Galat. iv. 14.

‡ Hymn sung at the service of Good Friday, Passion Sunday, &c. from the Vesper Book of the Catholic Chapel, Bath, page 28, 29. I regret that the English translation is inferior in simplicity and spirit to the original.

On Thee, as in the world's great scales,
The ransom of the world prevails ;
Our sin, tho' great, his pains outweigh,
And rescue hell's expected prey.

All hail ! O happy mournful tree,
Our hope with Christ is nailed on thee ;
Grant to the just encrease of grace,
And mediate for the sinner peace.

Bless'd Trinity, to thee we sing,
From whom above all graces spring ;
Thy crowns on us above bestow,
Who conquer by this cross below. *Amen.**

Let me here address a serious question to Dr, Moysey himself. Did you, sir, authorize or could you authorize the extracting of a passage from this hymn, to prove that the Catholic Church "unequivocally sanctions the practice of allowing the *Latreia* to be due to images?" No sir, I will not believe it. You are a gentleman and a man of letters, and you could never have descended to an artifice so poor, so pitiful, so ungentlemanlike, for the cruel purpose of imposing upon the ignorance, and rousing against your fellow Christians the angry and contemptuous feelings of your unlettered readers.

I shall only add respecting the ceremony of Good Friday, that I wish the reader to peruse it at length in the common Roman Missal, published in English and Latin, for the use of the laity in this country ; and if he have a classical mind, and a single spark of religious feeling on the most pathetic of all subjects, the sufferings of the world's redeemer, he will I think, agree with me in pronouncing it one of the most beauti-

* VEXILLA regis prodeunt ;
Fulget cruxis mysterium,
Qua vita mortem pertulit,
Et morte vitam protulit.

Quæ vulnerata lauceæ
Mucrone diro, criminum,
Ut nos lavaret sordibus,
Manavit nuda et sanguine.

Impleta sunt, quæ concinit
David fideli carmine,
Dicendo nationibus :
Regnavit a ligno Deus.

Arbor decora, et fulgida
Ornata regis purpura,
Electa digno stipite
Tam sancta membra tangere.

Beata, cujus brachiis,
Pretium pependit sæculi,
Statera facta corporis,
Tulitque prædam tartari.

O crux ave spes unica,
Hoc passionis tempore.
Piis adauge gratiam,
Reisque dele crimina.

Te, fons salutis Trinitas,
Collandet omnis spiritus :
Quibus cruois victoriam
Largiris adde præmium. *Amen.*

ful remains of ancient ceremonial, and one of the most impressive ceremonies ever introduced into religion. Such I am sure I have always felt it, and I am equally sure that I never paid to the cross, or any other material object, the honour due to God.

The next proof of the practical idolatry of the Catholic Church, is a ceremony of blessing a new cross, prescribed by the Roman pontifical; in which the priest prays that this cross may be a "healthful remedy to the human race, that by the merits of this cross the offerers may be freed from all sin," &c. "These prayers," says Vindex, "used at the consecration of a cross, form a very legitimate test of what is *intended* by the service of the 'Adoration of the Cross,' used in holy week, and are a very intelligible comment on the '*debitum* honorem ac venerationem' of the council of Trent." It appears then, that Vindex wishes it to be understood that, in the first place, the Catholic Church, by an act of Pagan-like consecration, invests the new made cross with divine privileges, confers upon it the same merits as Christ himself possessed, and then declares it fit for the ceremony of Good Friday. And is Vindex really in earnest when he expresses surprise that a Catholic Clergyman, should feel pity for the man, that can believe such absurdities of his religion, or assert them without believing them? I must then inform Vindex, that the crosses employed in the ceremony of Good Friday, have seldom had any consecration at all. I never knew of one that had. In the next place, I must inform him that, by the ceremony of *blessing* material objects, the Catholic Church means no more, than begging of the Almighty to bestow upon those who use them, health of body or soul, remission of sin, or any other temporal or spiritual blessing; and the only virtue or merit which she ascribes to such objects, after they are thus blessed, is merely such, as it may please the Almighty to impart to them in consequence of the prayers that have been addressed to him.

When Solomon dedicated, or as the Roman pontifical would express it, blessed the new temple of Jerusalem, he stood before the altar of the Lord, and spread forth his hands towards heaven, and prayed "that the eyes of the Lord might be open towards that house day and night; that when the people should pray towards that place, God would hear them in heaven; that when they had sinned and should make supplication in that house, the Lord would forgive the sin of his people." &c.*

* (4) Kings viii. 22, &c. &c.



And Solomon prayed “ that the eyes of the Lord might be open towards that house day and night,” &c. 4. Kings, viii. 22.

Now, if Solomon's prayer was heard, the temple of Jerusalem derived from it a certain *blessing*, inasmuch, as a person who prayed there would possess the efficacy of Solomon's prayer added to his own. The Roman pontifical does no more in begging, that similar blessings may attend those persons who use, with proper dispositions, any of the things to which the prayers of the Church have been, in like manner, annexed.

Instead of having recourse to the blessing of the cross to explain the ceremony of Good Friday, with which it has no manner of connection, Dr. Moysey's friend would have done better to have had recourse to some Catholic divine for the explanation of both. To advance idle surmises as matters of fact, and put forth his own ill natured fancies as the religion of his neighbour, is, to use his own expression, “ a proceeding as

unworthy of a scholar, as it is beneath the character of a gentleman."

"So much," cries Vindex, "for the kind of adoration paid to the cross; now for that, paid to the Virgin Mary."

"TU ES SPES UNICA PECCATORUM." "*Thou art the only hope of sinners.*" This is, I admit, a very strong passage. How does it proceed? "Through thee we hope for the pardon of (our) sins, and in thee, most blessed, is the expectation of our rewards. Holy Mary! succour the miserable," &c. Vindex had indeed good reason to head his attack upon the worship of the virgin with such a passage as this, and no doubt he felt confident that it was all over with *Hyperdoulia*. I fancy I see him overjoyed at the discovery of this precious document in some old book of Church of England controversy, and carrying the glad tidings to Dr. Moysey and his other clerical co-operators. But alas! how uncertain in the art of war is the issue of the best concerted schemes!

It happens most unluckily for Vindex, that this passage is not the composition of any modern Catholic idolater, but is found amongst the works, and maintained by the best critics, to be the genuine production of that ancient and celebrated doctor of the Church, whom the creed of Vindex, even the very book of Homilies itself calls "*Saint Augustine, the best learned of all ancient doctors*,"* whose orthodoxy on this subject it vindicates by the following quotation from his works, "Know thou that none of the dead, nor any thing that is made of God, is worshipped as God of the Catholic Christians," and whom it repeatedly quotes on this and almost every other subject as strictly orthodox. Therefore, either Vindex must give up the book of Homilies, or he must surrender the charge from St. Augustine. As I cannot suppose he will do the former, I trust he will set himself to work, and endeavour to extricate the saint out of the difficulty into which he has brought him. In this I shall be happy to assist him, and I hope he will learn from this lesson how necessary it is to know what he quotes before he advances it, and how just it is to consider whether a passage will not bear a favourable construction before he condemns it. We will give the passage more at length, and I dare say we shall find that it will explain itself.

"Mary becomes the mother of a man by believing the angel, because Eve had ruined a man by listening to the ser-

* Second part of *Peril of Idolatry*, p. 161. Oxford edit. 1816.

pent. O, happy obedience ! O, signal grace ! Whilst she yields her humble faith, she becomes the mother of the world's Creator. Hence she merited the glory which she afterwards received. Behold ! says she, from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed. O, blessed Mary ! who can give thee the thanks and praise which are so justly thine, who, by that singular assent, has succoured a lost world ; Receive then our thanks, however unequal to thy merits, and when thou hast received our vows, obtain by thy prayers the pardon of our faults. Accept what we offer, grant us what we ask, excuse what we fear ; for thou art the only hope of sinners. Through thee we hope for the pardon of our sins, and in thee, most blessed one, is the expectation of our rewards. Holy Mary, succour the miserable, help the pusillanimous, comfort the afflicted, pray for the people, make supplication for the clergy, intercede for the devout female sex. Let all experience thy assistance," &c.*

It is manifest from this passage, that St. Augustine in the fourth century had at least as great devotion to the " Blessed Virgin" as any Catholic in the nineteenth ; but it is evident enough, both from this and numberless other passages of his voluminous works, that he considered this exalted personage merely as a creature, and that his high veneration for her was founded chiefly on the circumstance of her having been chosen by God to be the mother of his Son. When he speaks of her being, " the only hope of sinners," he either alludes to her very powerful intercession, and speaks as an orator, by exaggeration, or he applies these words to her, as the mother of *him* on whom all our hopes are founded. Surely it would have been no great violation of language had some French orator said of the Duchess de Berri, after the death of the Duke, " Thou art the only hope of Frenchmen," merely because she was expected to be the mother of a future king. Nor should I have condemned of idolatry some zealous Vindex of the sixteenth century, who had said of Luther when he was big of the reformation, " Thou art the only hope of Protestants."

He next quotes a hymn to the blessed Virgin Mary, in which she is styled "gate of heaven." The poet gave her this name because she was the mother of Christ. If the Church of England be the *way* to heaven, I should not, for my part, blame a Church of England poet, who should call Henry the

* Sermon 18. de sanctis. Whoever wishes for farther proofs of the opinions of St. Augustine, and other early Christians on this subject, will find them in Berrington and Kirk's *Faith of Catholics*, page 435, &c.

Eighth, or Queen Elizabeth the “*gate* of heaven.” In the same passage he seems to have overlooked, that the holy virgin is desired to *ask* for us all good things ; a proof that we do not consider her equal to her Son.

This word *ask* might have served as a hint to Vindex, (if he is determined not to learn our religion from better sources,) that the extravagant expressions contained in two prayers which he quotes in a note, were not to be literally understood. One of these, taken from the end of a Paris Missal of 1624, entreats the Holy Virgin to “ command the Redeemer by the right of a mother,”* and the other by one Father Crasset says, “ that the power of the mother and the son is the same, and that the mother has been made omnipotent by her omnipotent Son.” I can only say, that I never saw such praises as these in my life, and I dare say I never should have seen them had it not been for the kindness of Vindex, though I have actually been collecting for some time all the extravagant forms of prayer made by Catholics, I could meet with, under an idea that some time or other I might present them, as subjects of curiosity, amusement, or caution, to my Catholic friends. But is Vindex really so ill informed, or has he the power of face seriously to bring forward, an extravagant expression from the end of a Paris Missal and another from Father Crasset, as arguments which are to overturn all the decisions of our general councils, the doctrines of our divines, the united belief of the whole Christian world, and in spite of all opposition force upon us a goddess, whom we are not all disposed to acknowledge ?

It is not worth my while to defend either the Paris Missal or Father Crasset, otherwise I dare say it might be done ; as no doubt there was some small share of common sense in both cases. When the former speaks of the mother’s *commanding* her son, I dare say it only meant, *strongly urging her powerful influence* with him. If a criminal begging his life from the mother of the king should say, “ urge him, entreat him, as a mother *command* him to pardon me,” I should say the

* Though an objectionable passage was found in the *body* of a local work like the Missal of Paris, it could not be admitted as declaratory of the doctrine of the universal Church ; but the prayer quoted by Vindex, if such prayer really exists, can be nothing more than a private devotion added at the end of the book, by private authority. Is Robin Wisdom’s prayer above quoted, which stands at the end of the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England, in company with the *Veni Creator, Venite exultemus*, &c. of this description, or must we consider it declaratory of the doctrine of the Established Church, respecting the *Turk* and the *Pope*?

man was very earnest, but I should not conclude that he considered that the king's mother had any authority over the king. Indeed, if the composer of the above prayer meant to say that the Virgin Mother was equal in authority to her Son. why not ask her to grant the favour herself? Why oblige her to give an order to her Son? By the *omnipotence* of the Blessed Virgin, I dare say Father Crasset meant no more than an English writer means when he speaks of the *omnipotence of Parliament*, of public opinion, of a royal favorite, or the like. If he meant any thing more he was a Heretic, and we make him over to the *civil* power of Vindex; or rather, if he be an Englishman, we make him over to civil emancipation from penal laws, to which as an apostate from the faith of his ancestors, he will become entitled.

The next quotation is this, "NOS CUM PROLE PIA, *Benedicat virgo Maria.*" "May the Virgin Mary with her pious offspring bless us." I can only *guess* what are Vindex's objections to this passage. Is it that we ask the blessing of Christ and his mother with the same breath? I acknowledge it is bad taste. But surely there is no idolatry or impiety in it. If a child should say to his parent, "I beg your blessing, and the blessing of God," we should not, I presume, see any *crime* in this. Does Vindex perhaps object to the mother's being put *before* her divine Son? But he must recollect that priority of order, does not always imply priority of rank. The scripture itself puts the mother and the Son in this order, when it says, "There was a marriage in Cana, of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there, and both Jesus was called and his disciples to the marriage."* But the fact is, the passage above quoted is a piece of bad Latin verse in rhyme, and I have no doubt, that the reason of this order being chosen, was because the rhyme required it; and how often will not poets, as well as others, give up reason for rhyme?

It is childish to follow Vindex through all his little extracts. The remarks already made will explain them all. If Vindex has read the books he quotes, he knows perfectly well, that in whatever terms our petitions to the saints are worded, we expect from them no favours but such as they obtain for us from God;† and if we speak of being benefitted by the *merits* of the saints, it is only because those merits may naturally render their prayers more efficacious with God. We intend the word *merits* to be understood in its *ordinary* sense, not in

* John ii.

† See the council of Trent above quoted.

that peculiar sense which theologians sometimes give to it when speaking of the redeeming merits of Christ. Surely Vindex does not suppose, when in the prayer which begs of God that we may be delivered from the flames of hell, by the merits and prayers of St. Nicholas, we mean to insult the Almighty by telling him, that we consider St. Nicholas as our redeemer, and beg he will grant our petitions accordingly? It means, I do assure him, no more than this, "Grant, O Lord, that the prayers of such or such a saint, and his *meritorious* conduct in life, which has procured for himself the rewards of heaven, may prevail upon thee to rescue us from future punishments." It might be very consistent in a disciple of Luther, or of the early Church of England, to say, that the only merits in existence are those of Christ, and that the good actions of men are in no sense meritorious. But the *modern* Church of England and the Catholic Church are, I believe, perfectly agreed, respecting the merits of Christ and those of good men. Both admit that our best actions can be of no value, except through the merits of Christ: but both also agree, that good works are an essential condition of salvation, and in this sense may justly be termed meritorious. We do not conceive, that any man has more merits than he ought to have, but we do think, that the meritorious conduct of a good man may render his prayers more efficacious with God than those of a sinner.

Vindex has found that the following words, applied by St. Paul to Christ, are applied in some of our offices to a saint. "Thou crownedst him, O Lord, with glory and honour, and didst set him over the works of thy hands." This application he considers so manifestly idolatrous, that he does not even employ one single Latin, Greek, or Hebrew quotation, to prove it such. But he forgot, that before St. Paul applied these words *figuratively* to Christ, the Psalmist had applied them *literally* to mankind in general;* and surely *we* may do the same. I do assure him we mean it in the same sense.

I must not forget the prayer quoted by Vindex from the English Missal, which says "O God, who to recommend to us to innocence of life, was pleased to let the soul of *thy* blessed Virgin Scholastica, ascended to heaven in the shape of a dove, grant, by her merits and prayers, that we may lead innocent lives here, and ascend to universal joys hereafter." In this quotation I have neither capitals nor italics to guide me. If

* Psalm viii. 5.

Vindex objects to the term *merits*, that word I have already explained. But I have heard, that a *lady* of the Church of England has pronounced it *dreadful*, that mention should be made in a prayer of such a legend as that of St. Scholastica ascending to heaven in the form of a dove, and this I dare say was the circumstance to which Vindex wished to invite attention. It may be very *dreadful*; but the question here is, does it prove the Catholic Church to be idolatrous? And why is it so very dreadful? Is it because the story is untrue? I really never examined, nor ever intend to do, whether it be true or not. All I know is, that it is told by St. Gregory the Great, the Pope who sent St. Augustine and some other disciples of St. Scholastica's brother, for the conversion of England. But as I do not admit the personal infallibility of popes in any thing, particularly in telling stories, the account may be untrue. They who believe it, may say the prayer. Surely there is no harm in that. They who do not believe the story, will not be excommunicated if they never say the prayer. But I would ask Vindex, is it quite essential that every assertion or allusion made in a prayer, should be demonstratively true? Is it then demonstratively true, as stated in the prayer used by the Established Church on the fifth of November, "that King James the First, the queen, the prince and all the royal branches, with the nobility, clergy, and commons of England, then assembled in Parliament, were, *by popish treachery*, appointed as sheep to the slaughter, in a most barbarous and savage manner, beyond the example of former ages?" On the contrary, is it not almost, if not quite, certain, that the whole was a piece of *Protestant* treachery, set on foot for the express purpose of ruining the Catholics? "It was, most probably," says a Protestant clergyman, "a machination of Cecil's, and was *discovered* by the loyalty of a Catholic nobleman.*" Now it strikes me, that of the two dubious facts, it is less objectionable to mention in a prayer, the ascent of St. Scholastica into heaven in the form of a dove, than the charge of "*Popish treachery, barbarity*," &c. If the former be untrue, it can neither injure nor offend any one; for what does it matter to any one, how St. Scholastica ascended into heaven? But if the latter be false, the prayer of the Established Church is a cruel and wicked libel upon the great body of Christians, and the whole service of the fifth of November is an impious and sacrilegious

* Speech of the Rev. J. P. Jones, of North Bovey, delivered at a county meeting at Exeter, 1821. See on the same subject Milner's Letter to a Prebendary Letter vii.

mockery of religion, in making the Deity himself a party to a crime as black and deadly as the gunpowder itself. "Thou hypocrite," (I do not mean this term for the lady,) "first cast out the beam out of thine own eye, and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."*

After these few remarks I think the reader will agree with me, that the extracts brought forward by Vindex to prove the *practical idolatry*, of his Catholic brethren, are of much too trifling and too dubious a character to substantiate so serious a charge. This reflection will require additional force when he remembers, that with the best dispositions in the world to bend every thing to his purpose, Vindex has gleaned only the above objections out of the whole of our rituals, pontificals, and public offices, comprising several folio, quarto, or octavo volumes. I am sure there is not a single doctrine that ever was maintained, however true or however false, however rational or however absurd, that has not had as many and as weighty arguments brought for and against it from the sacred scriptures alone. It is impossible for any language, however clear, to guard against the quibbles and sophisms of men who are determined to find objections. But in a service composed at different periods during eighteen centuries, written in different languages, by different authors, in prose, in verse, in simple narrative and lofty oratory, a man must be an ass if he cannot find as many objections as he chooses; and I really wonder that Vindex has not succeeded better.

I must also remark, that had the quotations from our books of devotion been far more to the purpose, it would have been proper to explain their meaning by our creeds and public professions of faith, not to gather the meaning of our creeds and professions from our books of devotion.

But without saying any thing more upon the plan which Vindex has adopted, I must make an observation, or two, on his manner of executing it. It would appear, from his references, that he had actually read our missals, breviaries, &c. Now in this case, for one passage which he found apparently against our doctrines, he found a hundred clearly for them. Why then did he not explain the former by the latter? He found, for instance, in the rubrics of the missal and breviary, a general rule laid down that all our offices should be concluded with one or more *prayers*, that all these *prayers* should be addressed to the Deity himself, even when the intercession of the saints was solicited, to show that God is the object of our worship, and

* Matthew vii.

should all conclude with the words, "through our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. to shew that every good we expect, even when granted through the prayers of men on earth or saints in heaven, must be originally derived from the merits of Christ. Now I ask, how any man, knowing these particulars, could reconcile it with candour, sincerity, or truth, to conceal them from his readers, when he professed to give a fair statement of our doctrines? When Vindex gave quotations from our hymns, why did he not explain them by the prayer that always followed them? And why, when he quoted our prayers, did he always, (except in one instance,) neglect to add the accustomed termination, "through our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. which, by the rubric, he knew was always required to be added, whether inserted in the letter-press, or omitted for the sake of brevity? Would a good cause require such aids as these? Or would an honourable man employ them in support of a bad one?"

"Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis."

The conclusions which Vindex draws from his extracts and quotations, exhibit a curious specimen of his mode of reasoning, and a striking proof of the confusion of his ideas on the subject he undertook to discuss. "What then," says he, "is the inference which is deducible from the extracts just quoted? Is it that when you bow or kneel before the representations of holy things, nothing more than mere respect is signified? If this be so, it must be respect more highly sublimated than any I ever heard of. According to the plain grammatical construction of the passages above cited, I should say that you *adore* the cross as well as the blessed Virgin Mary and the apostles; and therefore your assertion, that the *Latreia* (or adoration) is reserved for God alone is completely disproved. If the act of offering up prayers, be not an act of adoration or divine honour, properly so called, all I can say is, that I know not what adoration means."* Here Vindex has at last stumbled upon the truth. He has discovered that perhaps he does not know what *adoration* means. He certainly either did not know what it meant, or reasoned as if he did not. But after the explanations I have given him, I hope that neither he nor his friends will any more plead ignorance in justification of uncharitableness and misrepresentation. I hope he will now also feel convinced, that if all the poetical, oratorical and figurative passages, employed in our respective ser-

* Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, p. 25.

vices, are to be subjected to the test of a mere *grammatical construction*, the Church of England will have as little chance of escape as the Catholic.

§ 7

INVOCATION OF ANGELS AND SAINTS.

How far admitted by the Church of England.—Explanation and defence of the Catholic doctrine.—Objections of Vindex answered.—Justification of the Catholic doctrine by eminent Protestants.—Injustice and illiberality of modern attacks injurious to the Established Church, and to Christianity in general.—Account of Christianity according to Dr. Moysey and his friends.

Hitherto I have confined myself principally to the Catholic doctrine respecting images and pictures, and to the respect we pay to them, and to sacred objects in general. I shall now follow Vindex to the objections he makes against the honours which we give, and the petitions which we address to the saints themselves. But I must first beg leave briefly to explain to the reader what is our actual doctrine on these points, that he may the better understand against what those objections are directed.

This doctrine is clearly laid down by the council of Trent in the following words: "That the saints reigning with Christ offer up prayers for men, and that it is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, help and assistance, for the purpose of obtaining benefits from God, through his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour."* These words constitute the whole of what we are required, as Catholics, to believe respecting the invocation of saints. The following statement will enable the reader to understand on what principles this doctrine is founded.

That the *angels* are employed by the Almighty in executing various works of kindness to man, is manifest from numberless

* See the original decree above quoted, Sess. 25.

passages of Scripture. At one time we find them on earth supplicating the Deity in favour of whole kingdoms; at another we find them in heaven offering up the prayers of the saints;* at another conducting an army in its various movements;† at another delivering the divine commands;‡ at another announcing the intended redemption of mankind; at another rescuing the Redeemer of the world himself from danger, ministering to him in his wants, and consoling him in his sorrows;|| at another performing the same kind offices to private individuals, accompanying them on their journeys, and guarding them in all their ways.§ Our Saviour seems to insinuate that every individual has a guardian appointed him from the angelic host, who looks to his charge with a jealous eye.¶ We find Abraham imploring upon the children of Joseph, the blessing of the angel who had “redeemed him from all evil.”** We find the Almighty himself strictly commanding his people to attend to the angel he appointed as their guide, to “obey his voice and not to provoke him,” promising to reward the obedience shewn to his angel, as if shewn to himself, &c. In short, we find the angels constantly employed by God, to use the words of St. Paul, as so many ministering spirits sent forth to minister for them, who shall be heirs of salvation.”†† Hence the Church of England does not scruple to keep the festival of St. Michael and the angels, and even to copy the Catholic collect, which prays “that as the holy angels always do service (to God) in heaven, so by (his) appointment they may succour and defend us on earth.”‡‡

After the death of Christ, when the gates of heaven were opened to mankind, and “the spirits of the just made perfect” were admitted to a participation with the angels in the joys of heaven, it is not unreasonable to suppose that they would be eager to share with them in their friendly offices to men on earth. Indeed, as their connection with the inhabitants of this lower world was of a more intimate nature than that of the angels could be, it is natural to suppose that they would feel a proportionably more lively interest in the welfare of their

* Zacharias i. 12. Rev. v. 8.

† Exod. xxiii. 20.

‡ Exod. xx. &c.

|| Luke i. Matt. ii. Luke xxii.

§ Tobias v. Psalm xci. (xc) 11.

¶ “Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you that in heaven their angels do always see the face of my father who is in heaven.” Matt. xviii. 10.

** Gen. xlviii. 16.

†† Heb. i. 14.

‡‡ Common Prayer, Feast of St. Michael.

earthly friends. That this is not mere surmise, is manifest from the scripture itself. From the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, it is evident that the former even in his place of torments, though not a man we may suppose of very benevolent feelings, felt an anxiety for his brethren on earth, and even interceded with Abraham in their behalf. In the Revelations of St. John, we find the saints mixing with the angels in all the joys of heaven; and, on one occasion, demanding of the Almighty to revenge their “blood on them that dwell on the earth,”* a proof that they had some knowledge of what passed upon it, and that they felt an interest about it; and if on this occasion we find them demanding punishment on the wicked, we cannot doubt that on others they would be equally earnest in soliciting favours for the good. Indeed, the demand of vengeance made upon their enemies was probably intended more as a benefit to their friends, who were suffering persecution from the wicked, than as a mere punishment on their persecutors.

Had the sacred scriptures come down to a later period, when the apostles themselves and other zealous founders of Christianity were admitted into heaven, we should probably have found in them more ample information on this subject. But this information is abundantly supplied by the early writers of Christianity, and by the concurrent belief and practice of the universal Church. It is true that Protestants in general do not profess to admit this kind of evidence in deciding matters of belief: they profess to confine themselves wholly to those writings which are generally called by the name of the *scriptures*, and which Catholics, from whom they received them admit equally with themselves to be divinely inspired. But the Catholic Church admits the historical and moral evidence of the early Christian writers, to establish certain points of belief or practice, which are either not mentioned in scripture, or not laid down in a manner sufficiently clear and explicit; and it is curious enough that whilst Protestants disclaim the authority of this species of proof, they actually agree with us in grounding some doctrines and practices upon it, which are even in direct contradiction to the scripture itself. Thus the scripture positively commands us to keep holy the sabbath-day, namely, the *Saturday*; and neither Catholics nor Protestants have any real authority for violating this scriptural command, except the belief and practice of the ancient Church. It was a positive com-

* Rev. vi. 10.

mand of the apostles, that Christians should refrain from "things strangled and from blood :"* nor have we any scriptural authority whatever for disobeying this command. In this instance, as in the former, we set aside the command of scripture on the authority of the ancient Church, or, as Catholics express it, of *tradition* alone.† The same may be said of infant baptism and some other points of belief, common to the Catholic Church and the Established Church of England. In fact, we cannot have a more certain rule. It is impossible that those who were taught by the apostles should not have known their doctrines, and therefore, if we find any practice or belief prevailing in the Church, *in the earliest times, and in every country*, we consider it certain that such practice or belief must have come from the first teachers of Christianity.‡

Of this description is the belief of the intercession of good men in heaven for their surviving friends on earth. It has always been believed amongst Christians, that death does not entirely sever those dear and tender ties that binds hearts together in this state of existence. It has always been believed that the virtuous parent, when he leaves behind him on earth the dear objects of his tenderest affections, does not forget them for ever: that when translated to a better and happier world, he still looks down with feelings of affectionate solicitude on those he formerly loved, and still continues to offer for them the same fervent prayers in heaven which he constantly poured forth on earth; that the pastor, in like manner, retains his affection, and continues to offer up his prayers for his former flock, the friend for his former associates, the patriot for his former country, &c. in short, that the virtuous feelings of our nature are rather strengthened than broken by death; our anxiety for the true welfare of our friends, rather increased than diminished by our discovering more clearly the true nature of

* Acts xv. 29.

† By the terms "*oral traditions*," which Vindex applies to the traditions of the Catholic Church, he seems to be possessed with the vulgar notion, that tradition regards only such things as have not been written. Whereas, by the term *tradition*, Catholic divines mean *all those points of belief which have been handed down to us without having been written in the holy scriptures*. But in the writings of the ancient Fathers, historians, &c. they are written, and held in as high estimation by the Church of England as by ourselves, when she has to defend herself against the Dissenters, which she can never do without tradition, and seldom even with it.

‡ This rule is laid down by St. Vincent of Lerins in the fifth century. "Quod semper quod ubique, quod ab omnibus creditum est, id non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur." *Commonitorium*, &c. If Protestant Divines would give themselves the trouble to read this work they would understand better why Catholics cannot be prevailed upon to leave the ancient Church, and join their new systems.

things, and our power of assisting them rather improved than injured by our admission to the presence of him from whom every good must flow. "All the holy men, (says Origen,) who have quitted this life, retaining their charity towards those whom they have left behind, we may be allowed to say that they are anxious for their salvation, and that they assist them by their prayers and meditation with God; for it is written in the book of Maccabees, 'this is Jeremiah, the prophet of God, who always prays for the people.'"^{*}

It has also been, in every age, believed that God allows to men, who leave this world in his grace, a certain knowledge of what passes here below, particularly amongst those for whom they are solicitous. To what extent this knowledge may be granted, or in what manner it is communicated, we neither pretend nor seek to know. But it has been the belief of all antiquity that when we address ourselves to the inhabitants of heaven, they either hear our prayers, or are, somehow or other, made acquainted with our desires.

Hence the ancient pastors of the Church not only allowed, but strongly recommended to their disciples to keep up, on their part, this communion of friendly and affectionate intercourse with "the spirits of the just made perfect,"[†] to respect and honour them as fellow creatures raised to the actual enjoyment of those dignities to which we only aspire, and to second, by our addresses to them, the exertion of that increased influence which they now possess with the Giver of all good gifts. "Let us be mindful of one another in our prayers (says St. Cyprian) with one mind and with one heart, in this world, and in the next; let us always pray, with mutual charity, relieving our sufferings and afflictions. And may the charity of him who, by the divine favour, shall first depart hence, still persevere before the Lord: may his prayer for our brethren and sisters not cease."[‡]

It must be admitted that this belief is, in the highest degree, pleasing and consoling, both to the living and the dying; nor is it easy to discover what *harm* there could be in entertaining it, even if we had not any positive authority for it. The inbred feelings of our nature may be safely followed as the will of God, when there is no injunction from him to the contrary. Why then should the dying parent be refused the consolation of thinking that he will still be allowed, when taken from those

^{*} Origen: lib. iii in Cant. Cantic. tom. iii. p. 75. Faith of Catholics, p. 433. He lived in the third century.

[†] Heb. xii. 23.

[‡] Ep. lx. p. 143. Faith of Catholics, p. 433.

he mourns to leave behind, to watch over and befriend the objects of his parental love? Why should the child, when afflicted for the recent loss of a virtuous parent; the newly converted Christian for that of the author of his spiritual birth; the friend for the death of his friend; be condemned or restrained, when reflecting on the past virtues and present happiness of him they loved, they call upon his spirit to remember them still, and, as he can, continue to befriend them? To repress emotions like these, is to add unnecessarily to the abundant miseries of life, to cast a chill upon the finest feelings of our nature, and to impart to the amiable and endearing religion of Christ, the coldness and cheerlessness which characterized the religions, true or false, of the ages before his coming.

It is this doctrine which Dr. Moysey in his charge denominated the “adoration of saints,” and stigmatized with the harsh appellation of *idolatry*. Vindex more modest, seems half willing to withdraw the charge of idolatry on *this head*, and substitute in its place certain minor accusations. I shall consider his objections as coolly and as seriously as I can; but he will excuse me if I do not treat them with all the ceremony to which he may think them entitled. To me they appear equally childish, mischievous and ill-natured.

“Praying to the saints to intercede for us with God, tends to lower our ideas concerning God? We are taught to consider his love and mercy to be infinite, &c.” But why, let me ask, should praying to the saints to intercede for us with God tend to lower our ideas concerning God? “We are taught to consider his love and mercy to be infinite, and that the throne of grace is accessible without the interposition of glorified beings.” This we admit, and therefore we generally address our prayers directly to God. But if Vindex will conclude from our occasionally begging the intercession of saints, that we believe the throne of grace is not accessible without the interposition of glorified beings, I hope he will allow me to conclude, from the custom in the Church of England of praying for each other, that she believes the throne of grace is not accessible without the interposition of beings that are not glorified. And why should not the intercession of sinners on earth be as injurious to the mediatorship of Christ as the intercession of saints in heaven?

But how, in the name of all that is ingenious, does Vindex make out that “the design of God to draw our *entire* affections towards him, to inspire with *unreserved* confidence in his goodness, and to purify our souls from idolatrous and

superstitious dross, is completely counteracted by our supposing others, besides himself, to be hearers of our prayers?" This objection is above all power of reply. I must therefore merely say of it,

"Valeat quantum valere potest."

"But," says Vindex "you do not affect to deny that in the overflowings of your *respect*, you bow down before the saints, and offer up worship before them." I beg Vindex's pardon, I never admitted any such thing. On the contrary, I objected to the terms *adoration* and *worship* being at all employed to designate the respect we pay to the saints, those words, in modern languages, being *generally* employed to signify the honour due only to the Deity.

"But," resumes Vindex, "what proofs can you bring that the saints do actually know all that you attribute to them.?" Supposing that they should not know all that we attribute to them, what is the harm? If a saint should not hear me when I beg his intercession, the worst that could happen would be that my labour would be lost. Surely I should not be an idolater or an impious man because I thought a person to have quicker hearing than he really had. If a man is in distress at sea, must he not call for assistance unless he is *quite sure* that his cries will be heard by the nearest vessel, or on the shore? And if he happen not to be heard, must he be accounted to have attributed to men the omnipresence or omniscience of the Deity? Should we even suppose, that in another world the knowledge of man is so encreased as to enable him to know every thing that passes in this globe of the earth, would this be supposing him to possess infinite knowledge? I am sure Milton's devil, when, in the midst of ten thousand thousand worlds of greater magnitude, he was seeking our little habitation, would have laughed at any one who should have told him that, whoever knew *the whole* of what passed in *that* one little ball, knew as much as the omniscient Deity. *I think* it very probable that, in another state of existence, the blessed may be enabled to take in even a much wider range of information than this world can furnish; but it is not necessary for justifying the Catholic doctrine, to suppose that they take in half so much. It is merely necessary to suppose that, by some means or other, the saints become acquainted with such subjects as regard themselves.

"But," continues Vindex (and I beg the reader to observe this master piece of ratiocination,) "If you think this know-

ledge constitutes their happiness, this knowledge must be perfect, that is, it must embrace a clear and full insight into the whole scheme of Providence." Now, in the name of Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, Bellarmine, and all the metaphysicians that ever lived, how did Vindex arrive at this strange conclusion? Can no knowledge but such as is perfect confer happiness? Can any one doubt that Vindex himself derives great happiness from the extent of his knowledge and the acuteness of his metaphysical discriminations? Yet the knowledge of Vindex is not perfect. "But unless the knowledge of the saints is perfect, it would not be perfect happiness; it would be suspense." If, by perfect, Vindex means *infinite*, we know as well as he, that it can belong only to the Deity. But if by *perfect knowledge* he means such an extent of knowledge, as is proportioned to the limited capacities of the creatures who possess it, such knowledge, though not infinite, will, we apprehend, quite satisfy the saints, and secure them from suspense. I shall not pursue Vindex any further in this curious dissertation. His reasoning all falls to the ground after he is informed that it never once entered into our heads to suppose that the saints "saw clearly the issue of all things, or that they knew exactly what God will do to the end of the world." We cannot therefore admit the justice of another curious conclusion which he draws from these fruitful premises. "The prayers of mortals and the intercession of saints are quite different. The one supposes ignorance which is confessed, the other implies knowledge which remains to be proved." As I think it will be long before this perfect knowledge of the saints has been proved, I hope Vindex will, in the meantime, allow us to believe, that the prayers of our fellow creatures, whether living or dead, are of the same nature, and to take our chance of having our prayers heard by the saints, and of benefitting by their intercession, as far as they can employ it in our favour.

It may be proper here to enquire whether there is any thing in the constitution of the Established Church which requires of its ministers to charge the Catholics with the crime of idolatry. I have admitted that the Book of Homilies, which the thirty-fifth article of the Church of England recommends as containing "a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times," (two centuries and a half ago,) does positively accuse us of this impiety. But I have also proved, from the dissertations of Archdeacon Paley, that no member of the Established Church is bound, at the present day, to believe or

maintain all the doctrines either of the homilies or the articles. That such has been the opinion and practice of many of the most eminent Protestants, on the subject in question, might be shewn by numberless quotations from their works. I shall select a few, which happen at this moment to lie within my reach.

The learned Selden, to whose works I have had frequent occasion to refer, and who is styled by Grotius (his contemporary and rival in literary fame) the “glory of England,” says “Idolatry is in a man’s thought, not in another’s. If I bow to the altar, why am I guilty of idolatry? Because a bystander thinks so? I am sure I do not believe the altar to be God, and the God I worship may be bowed to in all places, and at all times. The Papists taking away the second commandment is not haply so horrid a thing, nor so unreasonable amongst Christians, as we make it: for the Jews could make no figure of God but they must commit idolatry, because he had taken no shape; but since the assumption of our flesh we know what shape to paint God in.”* He admits that no well informed Catholics pray to images, nor probably *any* Catholics in England, though he thinks “it is to be feared the ignorant do” in other countries. Of this we shall speak hereafter.

The next authority I shall adduce, is that of Grotius himself, whose quotation I beg the reader particularly to notice, because it entirely agrees with the view I have taken of the subject in the preceding passages. “Images,” says he, “are in the churches over which the Pope presides. So are they also in those of the Greeks, and in some of those of the Protestants. In fact, the second commandment being a *positive precept*, and given to the Jews on account of the circumstances of time and place, no more binds the people of Christ than the law which enjoins the observance of the Sabbath, (Saturday,) as we have demonstrated in treating of the decalogue. Images are helps of the memory; and as, when the name of a king is

* Vol. iii. page 2033. Selden is mistaken when he speaks of the Catholics *taking away* the second commandment. In all our larger works of instruction we copy the commandments, as the Church of England does, at full length, from the scripture itself. We join together, into one commandment, what Protestants call the first and second, in the same manner as they join together what we call the ninth and tenth. The scripture makes no mention of what is the first, second, or third commandment, and they have been variously divided at different times. The division used at this day by the Catholic Church was in use in the time of St. Augustine, that is, about twelve hundred years before the Protestant religion was thought of, a proof that the Church did not adopt it “for the convenience of proping up its own system,” as Vindex very learnedly and very modestly asserts.

mentioned, we are accustomed to show some token of respect, though the king be absent, so, when the recollection of a martyr is brought to our minds by any external sign, we express in like manner, that reverence and affection, which are due to the virtues of such great men. We have also proved, in treating of the decalogue, that there is no external reverence so reserved to God alone, that the same has not been also given by the people of God, to kings, magistrates and prophets. We have proved also, that the import of such acts is different from that of sacrifice, libation and incense; though, even with respect to bowing down and other external acts, it may be a matter of *prudence*, particularly when the common people are concerned, to make a difference in the external act according to the difference of the honour intended. In all this, therefore, there is no idolatry; otherwise the most religious men among the Jews, would have been idolaters. Moreover, the Pope does not oblige any one to use images: and if any excess be committed in honouring the saints or their images (nor can it be denied that this may be, and has been the case) bishops and kings will only do their duty in correcting such abuses. Nor will any good Pope oppose them in this; nay, the council of Trent itself recommends it to be done, and prohibits also the sale of any of the sacred functions or duties. Kings and bishops therefore ought to be entreated to do their duty, in which they will be seconded by the canons of the Church, and the decrees of the Popes, as any one may be convinced by consulting the codex of Gratian.* How delightful it is to the feelings of a Catholic, and how profound is the respect he feels for a Protestant, who, like this learned adversary, will merely do him "the justice of stating his doctrines fairly!" Why may not Dr. Moysey and his friends "go and do in like manner?"

The author of "An Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion, by a Minister of the Church of England," asks the following question, "Whether those in communion with the Roman Church, are not idolaters in the worshipping of images?" He answers, "I have strictly enquired into this point and by all I can observe, both in their councils, professions of faith, catechisms, spiritual books, and other books of devotion, I cannot see but they as firmly believe in one only

* Grotius de Antchr. Op. Theolog. tom. 3. p. 485. col. 2. When Grotius speaks of sacrifice, libation, and incense, as acts reserved to God alone, he speaks of *incense used as a sacrifice*, and burnt on an altar, not as used with the thurible or censer, in which way he knew it was employed to shew respect to the books of the gospel, to the altar, the people, and even, as I before observed, to a corpse at a funeral.

God as we do in the Church of England; and with as much constancy declare, that the honour of God ought not to be given to another," &c. "From all which," continues he "I must conclude, that all the charge of idolatry, is only a consequence of ours, and such as they expressly disown, I may say abhor, and therefore, according to our fourth rule, ought not to be insisted on as an obstruction to communion; especially since that Church imposes on none the use of images, but leaves all its members at liberty of using them if they think fit, or of wholly letting them alone; which according to our second rule, is motive enough for waving this question, since whatever the idolatry be, they oblige none to be guilty of it." He quotes, in support of his statement, the authority of Bishop Montague, Dr. Pocklington and other eminent divines of the Established Church. He might have added the impressive admonition of the learned Thorndike,* "Let not them (who charge the Papists to be idolaters) lead the people by the nose, to believe that they can prove their supposition when they cannot."†

I might add to these authorities the opinions of, I believe, a large majority of the Established clergy of the present day, who see the uncharitableness and are ashamed of the illiberality of employing vulgar abuse against their Catholic brethren. In the City of Bath, I am told there are, at this season of the year, generally some hundreds of respectable clergymen, many of whom, we may suppose, are quite as well-informed, and as zealous in the cause of religion as Dr. Moysey, and have more leisure upon their hands for defending it. Had they approved of his violent charge, or thought his assertion of our idolatry necessary for the support of the Established Church, can we suppose that not one of them all would have come forward to justify his conduct? Would he have been driven to the poor shift of employing in his defence the pens of anonymous writers, who can insult with impunity and misrepresent without fear?

It cannot therefore be pretended that the defence of the Established Church required of Dr. Moysey and his friends to charge their Catholic brethren with idolatry. Neither will it,

* "*Essay towards a Proposal*," &c. p. 54, &c. third edition 1812, the first edition was published in 1704. I have been told, that the Rev. Author of this work afterwards became a Catholic. It is an event which would happen more frequently, if men would follow his examining our tenets for themselves, and the advice of Mr. Thorndike in not suffering themselves "to be led by the nose," by ignorant or interested men, who misrepresent our doctrines.

† *Just weights and measures*, page 11.

I am sure, be said by any one who has read these pages, that it is quite certain we are guilty of that crime. Now is it consistent with the morality of the Established Church positively to charge a neighbour with a crime, and publicly to proclaim his guilt to the world as certain, when it is not so? I am sure this is not the morality of the gospel, nor is it that of the Catholic Church. Were it known to me, as a minister of religion, that any Catholic had publicly and falsely accused a Protestant, or the Protestant body, of any odious doctrine calculated to injure them, I should think myself bound to oblige that man to make a public retraction and apology, just as much as if he had injured Catholics, and if he refused to do it, I would not give him the sacraments of the Church even on his death-bed. The same, I am confident, would be the conduct of any Catholic clergyman in the kingdom.

But there are other aggravating circumstances in the case of Dr. Moysey and his friends. The former at least, numbers some respectable Catholics amongst his acquaintance, who have shewn him attention, and from whom, I am very sure, he never received any just cause of complaint. It is therefore not only unjust, but illiberal and unhandsome, to hold up to public derision these very friends, who had a right to expect from him a different return. Will he pretend that he does not injure them by misrepresentations of their religion? He is much mistaken. He injures them most seriously. It is no small drawback upon the pleasure of society, when a person knows that he has been represented as a fool or a criminal, and does not know, but many of those, with whom he associates, really think him guilty. So much is this felt by Catholics, that hundreds, perhaps thousands, are at this moment living abroad, principally because they cannot brook to live amongst men, who hate, despise, or suspect them. I have reason to believe, that some very respectable and wealthy Catholic families might, at this moment, have added not a little to the society of this city, had it not been for the sermons and charges of such men as the Archdeacon and his friends.

I am aware, that the better informed part of the community, particularly such as have lived amongst Catholics, do not believe the violent accusations made against us, even when they hear them from the pulpit. But Dr. Moysey should remember, that the great majority of mankind, as well in the highest as in the lowest classes, are not well-informed. He cannot be ignorant, that of the many who compose the fashionable society in this city, very few indeed have had the means of examining

into the truth of the doctrines taught them by their clergy, and that, generally speaking, they implicitly believe the accusations they hear against the Catholics. I could bring him instances from persons of the first rank in Bath, who have acknowledged that they “hated the Catholics” on account of their supposed tenets, who really thought them a poor misled priest-ridden race, and who even withheld from poverty and distress the hand of relief, because the object “worshipped the Virgin Mary instead of God!” To the Catholic clergy in particular, considerations like these, frequently render society unbearable. A man who has any dignity of soul, will prefer absolute solitude to the society of men who view him in the light in which Dr. Moysey and his friends would represent a priest of the old religion. These feelings are not a little sharpened when he reflects, as a Catholic clergyman always can, that his life is spent in labouring to promote good-will and peace equally amongst men of all persuasions, and in inculcating the obligation of kind feeling, respect and every charitable office, equally towards those who make it their constant business to slander him, and those who do him justice. The shallow excuse which the Archdeacon and his defenders have brought forward to hide the illiberality of their conduct, by deprecating all hostility to our *persons*, whilst they condemn us as idolaters, would be admissible, if their assertions respecting our religion were true. But unable as they are to prove them so, their harsh and unprovoked attacks, are equally irreconcilable with charity, decency, and justice.

The illiberality of such conduct appears still more from the consideration that in condemning, as the book of Homilies and its admirers do, the whole Catholic Church, “laity and clergy, men, women and children, of damnable idolatry, of all vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man,” ever since the eighth century, they not only strike, with one wide blasting anathema, the immense majority of Christians at the present day, but nearly all the Christians in the world, for the last thirteen hundred years, including all the sects of Eastern Europe and Asia, comprising all their own ancestors from the sixth to the sixteenth century, taking in all those good and zealous men who converted us from Paganism, to the knowledge of the true God, all the virtuous and disinterested missionaries, who carried the name of Christ and the blessings of civilization to many of the neighbouring nations of Europe, and not unfrequently sealed their sincerity with their blood. The malediction extends its bane to all our Saxon and English

sovereigns, warriors, statesmen and patriots, to whom we are indebted for the most perfect government in the world; to all those zealous and disinterested pastors, who, principally out of their own incomes, erected, in honour of the living God, all the cathedrals of England, built almost all the parish churches, founded and endowed nearly all the great schools and colleges, and established both the universities; in fine, gave to the Church of England, the whole of those princely revenues which confer upon their possessors so much respectability, comfort and power, nay, preserved for them the sacred scriptures themselves, together with every ancient work of sacred and profane learning, and furnished them with every thing that is most valuable in their liturgy itself. To men like these, all Englishmen owe gratitude, respect and admiration. To violate the sacredness of their fame, to dig up their venerable remains from their places of consecrated rest, to commit them as spiritual traitors to the flames, or bury them as spiritual murderers and spiritual suicides in the public highways, and all this, perhaps, for no other person than to accomplish some pitiful object which will not bear naming, to give point to a clerical address, which would be dull without it, to defend the rashness of an unprovoked aggressor, or to gratify the harsh, and unamiable feelings which nature or prejudice has instilled, is ill-becoming those who boast so loudly of mildness and toleration, and who are for ever exclaiming against uncharitableness in others.

If Dr. Moysey and his friends think they serve the cause of the Established Church, or of Christianity itself, by their violence against the Catholics, they are much mistaken. Experience has proved that such violence will not prevent the members of the Established Church from deserting her communion and becoming dissenters, whilst it furnishes the latter with an unanswerable justification of any similar attacks they may make upon the Church of England herself. An argument that proves too much, proves nothing, and frequently injures the cause that employs it. This remark is proved by the simple fact that Protestants, seeing the incredibility of the accusations made against the Catholic religion, are often led to examine into their accuracy, and finding them false, return to the faith of their ancestors. It is the cause of nine-tenths of the conversions that are made to Catholicity. It never happens that a controversy like the present, does not procure some converts to the Catholic religion, whilst a single instance will never be found of any Catholic forsaking his religion in conse-

quence of the violent accusations made against it. On the contrary, such accusations serve to confirm him the more strongly in his faith, because knowing them to be utterly false, he is the more firmly convinced that those who employ such arguments must be in want of better,

Infidelity itself can desire no better arguments than those which the violent accusers of Catholics offer them. For it is impossible to reconcile such accusations with the truth of scripture. *That* scripture predicted, that the religion of Christ should be an universal religion. “In thy seed,” said the Almighty to Abraham, “shall *all the nations of the earth* be blessed.”* “*All the ends of the world*,” says the prophet David, “shall remember and turn unto the Lord and *all the kindreds of the nations* shall worship before thee.”† “It shall come to pass in the last days,” said the prophet Isaiah, “that the mountain of the Lord’s house shall be established on the top of mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and *all nations* shall flow unto it.”‡ “*From the rising of the sun*,” said the last of the Jewish prophets, “*even to the going down of the same*, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and *in every place* incense shall be offered to my name, and a clean offering.”|| Hence the commission which Jesus Christ gave to his apostles at his ascension was to establish an universal religion: “Go teach *all nations*, and lo! I am with you.”§ And hence the term Catholic, or universal, is applied to the Church of Christ in the apostles’ creed as its perpetual characteristic. Now, neither the religion of the Church of England, nor all its multifarious connections, can have the smallest pretensions to such an universality; nor, can the Catholic Church, which alone possesses such claims, be allowed to come forward to save the truth of scripture, if it have apostatized from Christ, by falling into damnable idolatry.

In the next place, the scripture clearly teaches that the true Church of Christ shall continue for ever. For this purpose he promises to her his continual protection, “Go, teach all nations; and lo! I am with you, *always, even unto the end of the world*.”¶ He declares that the powers of hell shall never prevail against her. “Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.”** These promises are confirmed by different pre-

* Gen. xxii. 18.
|| Malachi i. 11.

† Psalm xxii. 27.
§ Matt. xxviii.
** Matt. xvi. 19.

‡ Isaiah ii. 2.
¶ Matt. xxviii. 20

dictions of the prophets, who foretold that what Christ here promised, should actually be fulfilled. "In the days of these kings," said the prophet Daniel, "shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed, and it shall stand for ever."* Now, if it be true, as Vindex and the book of Homilies maintain, that the whole Christian Church, laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendom, have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man, and that for the space of eight hundred years and more,† how will they reconcile this grand apostacy with the truth of scripture? Their account of the Christian religion will be this.

The Christian religion was founded by Christ, and preached by the apostles and their legitimate successors, acting under his commission, through the different countries of the then known world; and so great were the numbers which every where became Christians, that the term Catholic, or universal, was applied to the Christian Church in the apostolic times, and handed down in the creed to all future ages, as its perpetual characteristic. But after 300 years, idolatry began to creep into the Church: in the sixth age it had arrived at such a pitch that "it scandalized the Jews, and roused the indignation, of the very Pagans." In the eighth century, the dark shades of idolatry had covered the whole earth, and, for the space of eight hundred years, the gates of hell prevailed against the Church, and Christ forsook his promised charge. But in the sixteenth century it pleased God to raise up Henry the Eighth, King of England, to whom he gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which he had formerly given to Peter. This royal apostle was inspired, first, with a desire of a second wife whilst his first was living, then of breaking communion with the great idolatrous Catholic Church, which would not allow him that privilege. He was then commissioned by heaven to resuscitate the pure religion of Christ, which, for near a thousand years, had been *drowned* in the ocean of idolatry; and by means of rigorous penal and exclusive laws, by banishing or putting to death all the old idolatrous clergy in the kingdom, and inducing a purer and more enlightened race into their sees and livings, by obliging all laymen, whether they would or not, to attend the churches

* Dan. ii. 44. See on this subject the *Grounds of the Old Religion*.

† Book of Homilies, Peril of Idolatry, part iii, page 201. Oxford Edition, 1816.

of these new apostles, Henry the Eighth, with his infant son and illegitimate daughter, his successors in the chair of Peter, contrived to bring over to the religion of Christ, about one-third of the population of an island called Great Britain. But no sooner were these penal laws relaxed, and men left at some degree of liberty to follow their own judgment, than the Christian religion again began rapidly to decline. Some returned to their ancient idolatry; many, regardless of the authority given to the ministers of Christ by the king and parliament of England, turned their backs upon them, refused their spiritual guidance, and in spite of the additional expense in times of deep distress, set up hundreds of new sects, and thousands of new conventicles, in short, continued by their defections and oppositions so to weaken the religion of Christ, that it is calculated by its most strenuous advocates, that were half a dozen Catholic peers, the ancient nobility of the land, and as many Catholic gentlemen admitted into the parliament of Great Britain, the total ruin of pure Christianity would be the inevitable consequence.

Such is the history of the Christian religion according to Dr. Moysey and his friends. They may themselves think it as credible as they please, and gloss it over in whatever forms of expression they are able. A man who has to chuse between infidelity, and a Christianity like this, must have a strong faith indeed, if he embrace the latter. But had the charge of idolatry, or damnable error, not been advanced against the Catholic Church, the miraculous manner in which that Church was originally established, its wonderful propagation through all the countries of the known world, its providential preservation and unbroken succession of pastors through every age since the apostolic times, conformably to the clear predictions of Christ, and its continued and encreasing universality, in spite of all the opposition of earth and hell down to the present day, are circumstances which form a chain of argument, the strongest that can be opposed to the assaults of infidelity, and the best calculated of all others to preserve Christianity.

It may, indeed, be difficult to justify the separation of England from the Universal Church, without supposing that the latter had ceased to be the Church of Christ. But it will still be more difficult to prove, on such a supposition, that the Church of England has any claims to that title, that its pastors have any legitimate authority from Christ, or that a small national Church, which, like a house built on the sea-shore and daily encroached upon by the waves, is constantly weakened

by the defection of its own members, and is, now confined to the population of, at most, one-third of a single kingdom, is the universal Church of Christ built upon a rock, against which no waves, no winds, no storms, no assaults of the infernal powers should ever prevail. The Catholic Church has not the least ambition to be acknowledged by the Church of England as a portion of the true Church. She will stand or fall by herself alone. But the Catholics of England would be glad to be exempted from misrepresentation and abuse, and they would much rather that the Established Church should enjoy prosperity, than that total disbelief should continue its ravages in the country. But to leave Dr. Moysey and his Christianity, and return to the main subject.



§ 8

Abuses existing in the Catholic Religion, not idolatry.—Superstition and credulity, common to Catholics and Protestants, though different in form.—Advice to travellers.

From what has been said I consider it demonstrated; 1st. that there neither is, nor ever has been any idolatry in the *doctrines* of the Catholic Church on the subject of saints and images. 2dly, That in England, at the present day, no idolatry is committed by Catholics, on either of these heads. But it is fair to enquire, whether in Catholic countries many serious practical abuses do not prevail, particularly amongst the lower classes.

That abuses do exist I consider certain, both from the nature of man, the admission of the council of Trent, the frequent complaints of Catholic writers, and the constant endeavours of Catholic bishops and pastors in foreign countries to guard the people against them, But, whether such a crime as *idolatry* is ever committed amongst Christians I very much doubt. For, as I have before proved, and as Selden justly argues, no man will worship an image as God unless he believes it to be God; and I cannot believe, that in the whole of Christendom, there can exist any man or woman, so

ignorant in Christian times, as to believe that an image or a saint is God.

The abuses therefore which do exist I consider to be merely superstitious, not idolatrous; though even of these, for the reasons assigned in a former part of this dissertation, I believe the number is much smaller than English travellers, who are unacquainted equally with the import of ancient ceremonies, and of the instructions which, in all well regulated dioceses, are constantly given to the people, are apt to suppose. It may sometimes happen, that too much attention is paid to little observances, introduced by the private authority of individuals, who have more zeal than knowledge, and more piety than good taste. It may happen at other times, that too much importance is attached, and too much confidence placed in external forms, by persons, (of whom there are great numbers in all religions,) who being unwilling to take the trouble of subduing their passions and avoiding sin, which constitutes the essence of religion, are glad to magnify to themselves the efficacy of forms and ceremonies, the use of which costs them nothing. Does Dr. Moysey doubt that motives of this kind have caused many desertions from the Established Church, to some of the minor divisions of Protestantism, where greater stress is said to be laid on inward workings of the spirit and on sanctification bestowed free of trouble or exertion on the fortunate sinner?

But that the abuses I have admitted are not the necessary consequence of Catholic tenets, I consider certain from these facts; first, that they do not exist amongst those who are well instructed in its doctrines, but only amongst the ignorant. Secondly, because there are certainly, not more superstitions amongst the Catholics who use images, than amongst Protestants who are without them, though the superstitions of each may be different. The fact is, mankind is naturally inclined to superstition, and nothing but knowledge, which cannot be sufficiently imparted to them all, can preserve them from falling into it, whatever their religion may be; but it depends upon various circumstances, what particular form their superstition will assume. In this country I have found a much greater degree of superstition amongst Protestants than amongst Catholics, in the belief of fortune-tellers, witchcraft, omens, lucky and unlucky days, nay, frequently in the spiritual powers which they believe the Catholic clergy to possess, and for the exertion of which they not unfrequently apply to us. But Catholics who are told from their infancy that all these

things are forbidden by the first commandment, and who, whenever they commit them, are obliged to confess their fault and sincerely promise amendment, are infinitely freer from such superstitions ; but they may be guilty of others, with which I am unacquainted.

Whether every exertion is made in Catholic countries, which ought to be, to eradicate or prevent superstitions, I cannot pretend to say. But if any would assert, that the chance of correcting such abuses, as actually do exist in the most ignorant portion of the Catholic Church, would justify, in prudence or in piety, the separation of any country from the communion of the Universal Church, the establishment of a new order of ministers, and a new source of spiritual jurisdiction, the continuance for centuries of endless divisions, contentions, animosities and hatreds, the enactment of cruel, sanguinary and oppressive laws against the majority of a nation, in fine, the risk of involving a whole people in scenes of violence and bloodshed, and, perhaps, leaving them at last without any Christianity whatever, I entirely disagree with him. I had rather, for my part, see half the old women in the kingdom place too much confidence in the burning of a taper, than half the young men applying the torch of destruction to the dwellings of the other.

If any one is wishful to ascertain to what extent, idolatry or superstition prevails on the subject in question in Catholic countries, I would recommend to him, when he next travels abroad, to adopt the following ordeal. Perhaps in Flanders, Italy, or Spain, he will observe some poor woman lighting a little taper, before a very tawdry image of the Blessed Virgin, and then kneeling down before it to say some prayers. Let not my friend Vindex, should he be the man to make the experiment, be too much transported with zeal at this shocking sight, nor, in the first ardour of his piety, overturn the poor woman, or insult the image. Let him not even exclaim idolatry, abomination of desolation, or any other expression of orthodox horror, with which he may be familiar. Such conduct would only frighten the party against whom it is directed, and prevent the chance of his receiving any answers. But, bridling his feelings for a few moments, let him quietly and good-naturedly approach the suppliant, and address to her the following interrogatory. "My good woman, what is your object in burning that taper?" I predict he will receive for answer, 'It is to honour the Holy Virgin or the Mother of God.' "But is that figure the Mother of God?" The answer will be, 'It is

her image,' " But do you think that the Mother of God is a goddess? or that she can grant you any favour, which she does not first receive from God?" The answer will be 'No.' " Do you think *that* image can hear you?" The answer will be again 'No;' or perhaps it may be only a smile signifying that the interrogator is supposed to be in jest. " Do you think that the image before which you are burning that taper and praying, can either see, hear or help you, or that there resides in it any divinity, virtue, or power, which entitles it to the honours you pay it?" A more homely mode of expression may be required to make the questions understood? but I feel perfectly convinced that the moment their meaning is comprehended, a decided *no* will be the reply. Here the examination must close on the score of *idolatry*, and the defendant must be pronounced *not guilty*.

To ascertain whether there were any *superstition* in the case the interrogatory may proceed thus. "Do you think that praying to the blessed Virgin will save you if you do not keep the commandments? Do you think that your salvation is *certain* if you say such or such prayers before this image? Do you consider it *certain* that the prayers you offer to the blessed Virgin before this image, will be heard and granted? Do you expect any effect from these prayers, which cannot be obtained by other prayers? Do you believe that any miraculous effect is sure to follow the prayers you offer here?" If the person answer 'Yes' to any of these questions, she is certainly guilty of superstition, in attaching to an external act, effects which neither reason nor religion authorizes her to attach to it. There may be other ways in which superstition might be committed in an act of this kind, which would be criminal, excusable or innocent, according to various circumstances. There might be also a fault of *credulity* which is neither idolatrous nor superstitious. Thus, if the woman believed, without sufficient proof, any stories of miracles having been wrought at that image, and said her prayers before it, merely *hoping* that she might receive similar favours, but not calculating upon them as certain, she would be chargeable with *credulity*, not with idolatry or superstition. For the existence or non-existence of any such miracles, is a mere point of history, which we may believe or disbelieve as we think it proper, with the same innocence that we may believe or disbelieve any ordinary fact. If we believe such accounts without *the strongest evidence*, we are certainly guilty of credulity; as, on the other hand, if we disbelieve them on such evidence we are guilty of folly. If the woman

prayed before that particular image rather than another, and expected, on that account, greater effects from her prayers; this also may be a persuasion, perhaps ill founded, but certainly innocent. There is no *guilt* in believing that the Almighty is more liberal in bestowing his favours in one place than in another. Solomon prayed that God would be more liberal of his favours in the temple of Jerusalem than in other places, and there is no *harm* in supposing that Solomon's prayer was heard. It is *possible* that the Almighty may, for some similar reason, perhaps on account of the piety of some eminently virtuous person who had prayed in such a chapel, or before such an image, bestow greater favours there than in any place not similarly circumstanced. Whatever may be without impiety, may be *believed* without impiety. Hence, if I found that the person of whom I spoke above, offered her prayers before one particular image rather than another, merely because her parents or friends had done it before her, or because she thought she had a better *chance* of being heard there than elsewhere, either for the reasons assigned, or for some other reason that does not militate against any principle of religion, I, for my part, would not condemn her. Were I indeed her religious instructor, I should caution her against being too credulous, and, for fear of superstition, should request her to say her prayers more frequently elsewhere; but I should not think that I was acting either charitably or wisely, if I proclaimed the poor woman an idolater or a fool; for in my opinion there is no more striking proof of unchristian illiberality, vulgar ignorance, or senseless fanaticism, than to be for ever roaring out idolatry, superstition and blasphemy at every thing which seems to agree with certain vague and undefined notions a person may have formed of these offences, or to be perpetually bestowing pity (as English protestants are very apt to do) on those who know what is right and what is wrong quite as well as themselves.* For my own part, I can truly say that in the churches abroad, I have repeatedly been ashamed of my Protestant countrymen and women, when, though ignorant, as to my knowledge they

* As far as my observation extends, there is quite as much *credulity* in the Church of England as there is in the Catholic Church, and of a much more dangerous kind. There are many Catholics in the sister island who believe, that St. Patrick drove all venomous animals (except Orange-men) out of Ireland, but the most ignorant Catholic in the united kingdom, never paid one moment's attention to the reveries of Johanna Southcott, whilst she boasted of having vast numbers of respectable Protestants, and even twelve Protestant clergymen, amongst the believers and propagators of her ridiculous and blasphemous pretensions!

sometimes were, even of their own religion, I have seen them looking at each other with expressions of indescribable self-complacence, and apparently thanking God for their own superior wisdom, merely because they did not understand some Catholic ceremony of nearly two thousand years old.

Let them follow the advice I humbly presume to offer them of first examining evidence, before they pronounce sentence; and if they should discover any idolatry or superstition in Catholic countries, let them rather, with a view of benefitting the souls of their neighbours, have the charity to state the case to the bishop or parish priest of the place, who will spare no pains to correct the abuse, than commit the injustice of publishing their discoveries, with ill-natured exaggerations, in England, for the purpose of depriving English Catholics of peace, reputation and liberty.



§ 9.

Breach of Faith.—Accusation by Dr. Moysey and Vindex stated and refuted.—Council of Constance and John Huss.—Dispensations of Catholics and Protestants compared.—Council of Lateran.—Sir John Cox Hippesley, &c.

I shall not detain the reader long on the subject of “keeping faith with heretics.” It will be recollected that Dr. Moysey, in his Charge, the original cause of this controversy, asserted that it was a doctrine of the Catholic Church, that faith might not be kept with persons of other religious persuasions, that many Catholics, particularly clergy, actually adhered to this doctrine, and that he conceived they would all be bound to act upon it “if the good of the Church, which,” says he, “is a consideration paramount with them, require them to do so:” that no dependance could be placed upon the Catholic clergy, they being the sworn and obedient servants of a foreign jurisdiction, and that the most solemn assurance of Catholic laymen were of no value, because they were “under the entire subjection of their priests.”

In my former letter to the Archdeacon, I acknowledged that if such were the principles of Catholics, “not only would it be just to exclude them from power in the state, but that it would be proper to expel them from the country, as beings unworthy of the blessings of civil society, and expose them as monsters to the general execration of mankind.” In fact, such doctrines strike at the very root of civil society, nor would it be possible, as a spirited and eloquent writer very justly remarks, for any government to subsist, the members of which believed them to be true.* Hence, the very existence of so many Catholic states through so long a series of ages, is a sufficient refutation of their charge. Yet grievous and incredible as the accusation was, the Archdeacon, with a dignity becoming a person in his station, adduced no proof in support of his assertions, but merely said that such *was* the doctrine of our Church, that we obstinately refused to repeal it, and that it “still stood as a decree of authority in the words of Innocent the Third.”

Every one of these assertions I positively denied; and adduced as proofs that we do not hold such doctrines: First, the authentic decisions of six Catholic universities, situated in different parts of Europe, obtained by Mr. Pitt, for the satisfaction of the British Government in 1788, all which most positively disclaim the odious imputations, with strong expressions of astonishment, that a learned and enlightened nation like England, should in the eighteenth century be capable of entertaining them. Secondly, I proved that the British government, which was so deeply concerned in the truth or falsehood of the charges, had publicly and repeatedly acquitted us of it: that even our warmest parliamentary opponents had given it up, and that not even the bishops themselves, had dared to bring it forward in the late critical discussion of our claims. Lastly, I showed that all the Catholics of England, Ireland, and Scotland, bishops, priests, and people, do, with the approbation of the Pope himself, solemnly call God to witness upon oath, that they do “reject and detest the impious and unchristian principle” imputed to them.

I had hoped that arguments like these would have satisfied even Dr. Moysey, nor do I think he would dare to expose himself to the odium of again making the charge *openly, and in his own name*. But either he, or some other person or persons acting in his defence, have done it under the cover of an ano-

* Arthur O'Leary.

nymous publication; and as there may be some, with whom such publications have weight, I subjoin, for their consideration, the following additional facts, in confirmation of my former proofs.

In the first place, the late Pope Pius the Sixth, in an official communication to the bishops of Ireland, solemnly disclaimed on the part of the Catholic Church, the odious doctrine in the following terms. "The see of Rome never taught that faith, is not to be kept with the heterodox; that an oath to kings separated from Catholic communion can be violated; that it is lawful for the bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions. We too consider an attempt or design against the life of kings and princes, even under the pretext of religion, as a horrid and detestable crime."*

Secondly: If Catholics believe that oaths when made to persons of other religious persuasions are not binding, why do our nobility and gentry refuse their seats in parliament, and submit to a total exclusion from every office of trust, honour and emolument in the state, even to that of acting as a justice of the peace on their own property, and amidst their own dependants, thus exposing themselves and families to be looked upon from generation to generation as a suspected, mistrusted, and degraded race, when the simple taking of an oath to the Protestant government is the only obstacle that stands in their way to power, wealth, liberty, and reputation?

Thirdly: If Catholics maintain that oaths made to persons of other religious persuasions are not binding, why are their oaths admitted in courts of justice as evidence, to dispose of the property, and even take away the lives of his Majesty's Protestant subjects equally with those of Protestants?

Fourthly: Why does the Government of England, in its treaties with foreign Catholic powers, accept of their simple oaths, without requiring any additional security on the ground of their religious principles?

Fifthly: Why do not the bishops of the Established Church, whenever the Catholic claims are brought forward, stand up as the guardians of truth and the friends of their country, and, by convincing the lay lords of the guilt and mischief of Catholic principles, preserve the Church from that danger which so much alarms themselves and their archdeacons? And why, when a

* See the whole letter in the Appendix to the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons "on the Laws and Ordinances in foreign states respecting Roman Catholic subjects," page 427. Also the speech of Sir John Cox Hipplesey, page 84.

bishop has returned home from one of those important discussions, in which he has not so much as whispered a syllable against Catholic breach of faith, does he make the assertions in his cathedral, which he did not make in the House of Lords, or countenance his archdeacons to publish them all over the country, for the purpose of inflaming the Protestants with hatred against the Catholics, and inspiring them with suspicions of the conduct of the government? It is not my place to account for this apparent contradiction in conduct; but this I know, that whilst no one is at liberty, or thinks it worth his while to contradict the assertions of a bishop or an archdeacon made only from the pulpit, should any bishop dare to assert *in the House of Lords*, that it is a tenet of the Catholic Church that faith might not be kept with heretics, a hundred lay voices would be raised to refute his assertion, ridicule his ignorance, or expose his bigotry. Even one of his own brethren, the venerable and respected Norwich, would enter his ardent and independent protest, and, by his single voice, rescue the Established Church from universal shame.*

I shall now make a few remarks upon the arguments which are brought forward by Dr. Moysey's anonymous friend, to substantiate the odious charge he continues to advance against us.

I have observed, that the only proof which the Archdeacon himself condescended to offer, was an *assertion*, that the doctrine he imputed to us actually "stands as a degree of authority in the words of Innocent the Third." This assertion I opposed by a flat denial. Vindex replies, "I neither know nor care whether the doctrine that faith is not to be kept with heretics, stands as a decree of authority in the words of Innocent the Third." This is a mode of defence so *dignified*, that I cannot help suspecting it to come from the same quarter as the Charge. But its dignity here is misplaced; for if the assertion of Dr. Moysey be not true, it will follow, whether Vindex cares or not, that the Archdeacon, upon the authority of a decree which has no existence, did under circumstances of peculiar solemnity, in the house of God, and in the presence of his clergy, and afterwards before the public in print, assert what was not true, to the serious injury of his "Christian brethren," the Catholics. Vindex therefore deserts the ground on which Dr. Moysey had rested his accusation, but continues to

* If the English Catholic were in any danger of committing idolatry, it would be from the veneration he feels for this friend of justice and humanity. "Justissimus unus." "Qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus æqui."

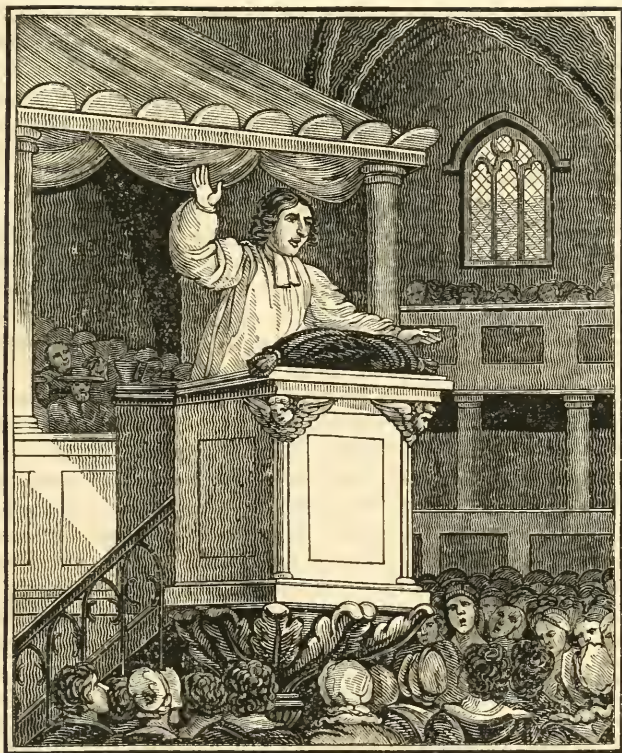
maintain it, upon a decree of the council of Constance, in 1415, respecting the trial and condemnation of John Huss, which he says, “decreed and declared it lawful to violate the most solemn engagements when made with heretics.” This broad and damning conclusion, Vindex rests upon the following quotation. “When nevertheless the said John Huss, by pertinaciously infringing the orthodox faith, rendered himself incapable of any safe conduct and privilege, *neither was any faith or promise, either by natural, divine, or human law, to be observed towards him to the prejudice of the Catholic faith.*” Now I think the reader will agree with me, that a milder interpretation might possibly be put on this passage, and that it requires considerable violence to bend it to the meaning which Vindex assigns to it; that consequently he ought not to have brought it forward with so much confidence, particularly after witnessing the fate of Dr. Moysey’s attack. But will the reader believe me when I tell him, that it is more than probable that the above are not the words of the council! “The clause,” says Butler, “is an evident interpolation. It is to be found in no manuscript, excepting one in the imperial library at Vienna? and in this it has not the formal signatures, which are subscribed, without exception, to all the other acknowledged canons.”* But there is another canon of the council, on this same subject, which is much clearer, and is acknowledged to be genuine. Why did not Vindex quote this? Why chuse *that* which is more obscure and the authenticity of which is not only doubted but denied? Perhaps here again he will answer “that he neither knows nor cares!”

The fact respecting Huss and the decree of the council concerning him is simply this. John Huss was a Catholic priest in Bohemia, his native country. He fell into certain errors contrary to Catholic doctrine, maintaining, amongst other things, that “princes, magistrates, bishops, and other superiors, lose their authority when in the state of mortal sin; that the people have a right to correct their temporal rulers as they shall deem necessary; that tythes are mere alms, and that parishioners may whenever they please, take them away from their clergy on account of their sins.”† These and many similar doctrines he preached publicly, drew over considerable

* Memoirs of the English Catholics, &c. vol. iii. page 104.

† Nullus est Dominus civilis, nullus est præatus, nullus est episcopus dum est in peccato mortali. Error 30 Joannis Huss. Conc. Const. Sess. 15.

Populares possunt ad suum arbitrium dominos temporales corrigere.



JOHN HUSS.—See page 142.

“ Princes, magistrates, bishops and other superiors, lose their authority when in the state of mortal sin.”

numbers to his opinions, raised some serious commotions in the country, and threatened still greater, when the Church and state becoming equally alarmed, he was ordered by his sovereign, the Emperor Sigismund, to repair to the city of Constance, and answer for his doctrines before the general council which was there assembled. That he might not be molested on his way to or from Constance, the emperor gave him a passport, or safe conduct. Instead of submitting to the judgment

Decimæ sunt puræ eleemosynæ et parochiani possunt, propter peccata suorum prælatorum ad, libitum suum, auferre eas “ *Errores 17 et 18 Joannis Wickliff.*” Huss positively declared, that the condemnation of the errors of Wickliff was unnatural, wicked and unjust. Concil. Const. Error 25.

of the council, the authority of which he had repeatedly acknowledged, and the decisions of which, as an ecclesiastic, he was bound to obey, he continued to maintain his dangerous doctrines publicly, under the eyes of the council, and at last attempted privately to make his escape. He was then put under arrest,* and when some of his partizans raised a clamour, alledging that the emperor had pledged his word for his safety, the council passed the decree which declared that no safe conduct of the emperor however worded, or with whatever promise or oath it might be accompanied, could deprive the council of their right of judging a man who was their subject in spirituals. "Every safe conduct," says the council, "granted by the emperor, by kings, and other temporal princes to heretics, or persons accused of heresy, in hopes of reclaiming them, ought not to be of any prejudice to the Catholic faith, or to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or to hinder that such persons may and ought to be examined, judged and punished, as justice, shall require," &c.† They accordingly condemned Huss of heretical doctrines, and, after every effort made to induce him to retract, when he still continued obstinate, he was declared a heretic by the council, and delivered over to the power of the state to be treated as the civil law should direct. The civil law directed that heresy should be punished with death, and the unfortunate John Huss was punished accordingly.

I shall not examine here whether Huss deserved his fate or

* If the council treated John Huss with severity for attempting to make his escape and for causing disturbances, it was not because he was a heretic. It is remarkable, that this council deposed no less than three popes, and one of them (John the Twenty-third,) for the very offence, attempted by Huss, namely, withdrawing himself from the judgment of the council, and privately making his escape. Coun. Const. Sess. 12.

† See Butler's Memoirs of the English Catholics, from which I copy this translation, and where the canon is given more at length with a dissertation, vol. iii. page 102.

The above is the explanation given to this decree of the council by all the Catholic writers I have read. That the council did not consider it lawful to violate an oath *on any account whatever*, is evident from the following questions, which, amongst others, were ordered by them to be put to persons suspected of the errors of Wickliff and Huss, who were said to have taught this doctrine. "Let the suspected person," says the council, "be asked, 'Whether he believes that perjury knowingly committed, on whatever cause or occasion, for the preservation of our own, or another's life, *even in favour of the faith*, is a mortal sin?' And if any one is found to maintain, that perjury, under any of these circumstances, is not a mortal sin, the council directs that he shall be obliged, publicly, to revoke and abjure his errors."

"Utrum credat quod perjurium scienter commissum ex quacunque causa vel occasione pro conversatione vitæ corporalis vel propriæ vel alterius *etiam in favorem fidei*, sit mortale peccatum." Bulla Martini quinti. Sess. 45. Conc. Const.

not.* But were any man to come to this country from Italy, with a passport from the Pope, and preach in England that the Established clergy had no right to their tithes, and that they might be deprived of them for their sins, I do think that the bench of bishops would very soon come to the same conclusion respecting the Pope's passport, as the council of Constance did respecting that of the Emperor Sigismund. They would say that his Holiness had no right to grant a passport to license a man to transgress the laws of England with impunity, and that if he had guaranteed his safety, even on oath, his oath in such cases could not be binding. And should there be any hesitation on the part of the bishops or the government to proceed against this dangerous innovator, I do suspect that we should see the Archdeacon of Bath as active in collecting signatures for a petition to parliament against him, as he has been in collecting them against the Catholics. Nay, should the offender, after all, be sentenced to be burnt, as many Catholics were for a very different reason under Henry the Eighth, I should not be at all surprised to see my friend Vindex in a mask, one of the most busy men about his pile. At all events, I am sure he would soon bring his metaphysics and criticism into play to demolish the reasoning of any Italian theologian, who should, on account of the above decision of the bishops, charge the Church of England with maintaining "that it was lawful to violate the most solemn engagements when made with *Catholics*." So far was the Emperor Sigismund himself from considering that his word to John Huss violated by the condemnation and punishment of that unfortunate man, that he repeatedly declared, during the trial, that, if Huss refused to retract his errors, he would himself light the first faggot at his pile.†

But had the decree, passed by the council, actually taught the odious and infamous doctrine Vindex asserts, still it could not have constituted an *article of Catholic faith*, nor consequently have bound the inward assent of any Catholic. First, because no decree of a general council is ever admitted as an *article of faith*, unless it be proposed as such to the whole Church. Now this decree was never proposed to the Church

* If Huss taught the doctrines attributed to him, and he certainly did teach most of them, he deserved to be punished as a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to civil society. If his errors were no ways injurious to the state, it was a cruel and unchristian act to put him to death for them; and if the council directly or indirectly sanctioned such temporal punishments for mere spiritual offences, it exceeded its powers, and must be so far condemned by every Catholic.

† See the Protestant historian *L'Enfant. His. Couc. Const.*

at all, nor was it even ratified by the Pope who presided at the council,* but was a mere assertion of right, made on a particular occasion, and applicable only under particular circumstances. Secondly, nothing can be considered as *an article of Catholic faith*, unless it is received as such by the great body of Catholic bishops. Now so far from the decree in question, having ever been received by the great body of Catholic bishops as an article of faith, I defy Dr. Moysey, or any other man with a name, to produce one single instance of a Catholic bishop receiving it as such, or deducing from it the odious doctrine asserted by Vindex.†

How hard is the fate of the British Catholic ! Not only is he deprived of the civil rights and privileges purchased for his country by the bravery of his Catholic ancestors, and this for no other crime than refusing to condemn their religion as idolatrous and wicked, but as if, with the revenues of his church and the liberties of his person, his understanding also had been made over to the clergy of the new religion, he has never since the reformation been allowed the poor privilege of knowing what himself believes. It is in vain that he protests against the injustice of having doctrines imputed to him which he abhors; in vain that he declares, in the most solemn manner, even upon oath, that such are not his doctrines; in vain that by a conduct above reproach, he pleads his innocence; the ministers of a religion, which for ever boasts its liberality, return him for answer, “We know your religion better than you do yourself. You believe as we assert. Even your oaths are undeserving of credit, because it is a tenet of your religion, established at the council of Constance, “that it is lawful to violate the most solemn engagements when made with heretics!” ”

Vindex asserts that Bellarmine, a Catholic divine of whom we have before spoken, taught, “that the Pope had power to establish, abrogate, suspend, dispense with ecclesiastical canons; to void promises, oaths, vows, obligations to oaths by his dispensation.” Now, suppose Bellarmine had really taught this

* Pope Martin the Fifth, who presided at the latter part of this council, expressly declared, that he gave his ratification only to such of its decrees as regarded *faith*, not to others. “*Martinus quintus dixit quod omnia et singula determinata et directa in materiis fidei per præsens concilium conciliariter tenere et inviolabiliter observare volebat, et nunquam contraire quoquo modo. Ipsaque sic conciliariter facta approbat et ratificat et non aliter nec alio modo.*” Sess. 45.

† The thirty-nine articles of the Church of England were established by an act of parliament. But does it therefore follow, that *every* act of parliament is an article of faith in the Church of England? Then will it follow, *that it is an article of faith of the Church of England, that the City of Bath may be lighted up with gas!*

doctrine, must his opinions be charged upon the faith of the Catholic Church, or must the Catholics of England necessarily be traduced as perjurers, and deprived of their civil rights, "because an Italian wrote nonsense in bad Latin, two centuries ago?"* But as Vindex gives no reference, and as Bellarmine, though a stickler for the extravagant pretensions of some Popes, has never been accused by those who know his works best, namely, Catholic divines, of teaching the wild and absurd doctrines which Vindex wishes to impute to him, I am quite convinced that he never held them.

There are certain powers of dispensation exercised by the Catholic Church, as there are by the Church of England, and as there must be by every government, whether spiritual or temporal, and some few of these are reserved to the Pope, for the express purpose of rendering them more difficult to be abused. With regard to ecclesiastical canons, if Vindex by this term means canons or *articles of faith*, it is untrue that either Bellarmine or any other Catholic divine ever allowed to the Pope the power of abrogating, suspending or dispensing with one of them. If he means canons of *discipline*, in whose hands should a dispensing power, limited and regulated by laws, so properly reside as in the chief magistrate of the Church? And what has Vindex to do with the discipline of our Church?

The fact is, the Catholic Church never allowed, nor did the Pope ever claim the right of abrogating or dispensing with the immutable laws of God and nature, and every power short of this, which the Pope ever exercised in England, was expressly reserved at the reformation to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the king.† Whatever therefore the dispensing power of the Pope might be, it is manifest that the same is claimed by the Church of England. But in its mode of exercising this power, the latter has greatly outstripped the former. It is manifest to me, that all the Popes who have sat during eighteen centuries in the chair of St. Peter, have not granted so many or such extraordinary dispensations as have been granted in the three last centuries by the Reformers alone. In fact, the reformation was wholly founded on dispensations. Luther could not begin the godly work, till he had granted himself a dispensation from the oaths of obedience which he had taken to his bishop, to his religious superiors, and the Pope; nor could he afterwards take a wife without exercising another power of

* O'Leary's Tracts.

† Act of twenty-fifth of Henry the Eighth.

dispensation, the greatest that is reserved by the canons to the Pope, and which many Catholic divines maintain the Pope himself has not the power to exercise. Luther was as liberal in his dispensations to others as he was to himself, and infinitely more so than the Pope had ever been. Henry the Eighth, one of the greatest and most powerful sovereigns of Europe, requested of the Pope a divorce from his wife Catherine, and urged his request with every argument that his passion could devise, or his power enforce; yet, after repeated examinations, difficulties, hesitations and delays, the suit was at last positively refused, on the ground that the grant of it was inconsistent with the divine law. The landgrave of Hesse, a petty prince of Germany, represents to Luther and his fellow apostles, how very agreeable and convenient it would be to him to have two wives at the same time, and his wishes are instantly complied with. "It is one thing," says this Protestant council, "to introduce a new law, and another to make use of a dispensation. If, therefore, your highness has absolutely determined upon marrying a second wife, we judge that you ought to do it secretly, as we before said when speaking of dispensations; that is to say, the thing should be known only to your highness, to the lady herself, and to a few confidential friends, bound under the seal of confession. In this case, no great difficulties or scandal could arise from it. For it is no unusual thing for princes to keep concubines; and though the reasonableness of the thing might not be understood by the ignorant, the better informed would understand it, and see that this mode of proceeding was much better than living in adultery; nor is it necessary to trouble ourselves about what others may say, so long as all is right with our conscience. Thus, and so far, we approve your highness's design; for the gospel does not recall what was permitted by the law of Moses." They recommended the happy man particularly not to say any thing to the Emperor, because as *he* was impressed with *papistical* notions, he might amuse himself at his highness's expense, &c.*

The divorce from Queen Catherine which Henry the Eighth

* See this curious and scandalous document at full length in Bossuet's *Histoire des Variations* liv. vi. I shall add the following extract in the original Latin only. "Certis tamen casibus locus est dispensationi. Si quis apud exterarum nationum captivus, ad curam corporis et sanitatem, inibi alteram uxorem superinduceret; vel si quis haberet leprosam: his casibus alteram ducere cum consilio sui pastoris, non intentione novam legem inducendi, sed suae necessitati consulendi, hunc nescimus qua ratione damnare liceret."

had in vain solicited from the Pope, was granted by Archbishop Cranmer, empowered by the king, without a moment's hesitation. Not only did this first royal head of the Church of England, grant a dispensation to all his bishops from the oath of obedience they had taken to the Pope, authorizing them to transfer the same to himself, but he even punished with death, those who refused to acknowledge his dispensing power, and accept its favours. Elizabeth offered the same dispensation to her Catholic bishops, but it was accepted only by one, the rest chusing rather to resign their sees than to acknowledge a dispensing power so new and extraordinary. She afterwards dispensed with the necessity of *apostolical jurisdiction, if not orders*, in favour of her new bishops, as well as with her own female incapacity to govern the Church of Christ. And who, I would ask, dispenses with our legislators when they continue to swear that "no foreign prelate *hath* any jurisdiction, or power ecclesiastical or spiritual, within the realm," when it has been publicly known for centuries, that the whole Irish Catholic Church is governed by bishops, acknowledging the authority, and acting under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, nay, even after these same bishops have been publicly received and acknowledged in this capacity by the sovereign himself? Who dispenses with that multitude of poor ignorant beings who fill the lowest offices under government for sixpences and shillings; and who, without ever having heard such a word as *transubstantiation*, or having the least idea what is the doctrine or practice of the Catholic Church, either on that or other subjects, "do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare, that (they) do believe that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper there is not any transubstantiation of the elements, &c. and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the mass, *as they are now used in the Church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous!*" Far be it from me to condemn all these poor unthinking mortals of the horrid crime of perjury, or even their better informed superiors, the Commons, Lords, and Bishops of England; but surely there must lie a dispensing power some where or other, to authorize these awful proceedings; and such a power as I maintain never

This dispensation was signed by *Martin Luther, Philip Melancton, Martin Bucer, Antony Corvin, Adam, John Lening, Justus Wintferte, and Denis Melanther*, and the marriage was actually celebrated in the presence of Melancton, Bucer, Melander and others. Who could resist the truth of a gospel like this!

was claimed or exercised by any Pope since the days of St. Peter. Even the solemn subscription to the thirty-nine articles, which Paley so easily allows to be made by the Established Clergy who do not believe them, implies a power of dispensation, and a liberty of explanation which would never have been approved by Rome, nor accepted, I do hope, by any Catholic, had it been sanctioned even by a general council.

Had Catholics the same happy facility in adapting the meaning of oaths to existing circumstances as their Protestant brethren, they would not so often annoy the parliament with a discussion of their claims, nor so often give Dr. Moysey the trouble of collecting signatures against them. It would only be necessary for them to desire some Catholic casuist to borrow the words of Archdeacon Paley and argue as follows. "They who contend that nothing less can justify the taking of the oath of supremacy and the declaration against transubstantiation, than the actual belief of every proposition contained in them, must suppose that the legislature expected the consent of ten thousand men, and that in perpetual succession, not to one controverted proposition but to many. It is difficult to conceive how this could be expected by any one who observed the incurable diversity of human opinion upon all subjects short of demonstration." After laying down these very convincing premises, our Catholic casuist has only to follow Paley in his reasoning and say, "The intent of the legislature in proposing the above oaths, is merely to keep those men out of parliament and public offices, who are weak enough not to take them. But as we do not intend to be kept out of parliament and public offices, therefore we may swear as well as our neighbours to what is not true." The Catholics might then march into Parliament and enjoy, with the rest of the population, a share in all those good things which government can bestow.

"Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth," is a maxim which I hope Catholics will ever bear in mind when they contemplate the conduct of their neighbour. Still there are occasions in which, if a Catholic refrain from judging, he cannot restrain his wonder; and on none more than when he witnesses the extraordinary use which is made of oaths in this country.

ⁿ "Non equidem invideo, miror magis

But when a man comes forward, and asserts that the Catholic Church claims a power of dispensation on these awful

subjects, that can be compared in the most distant manner with that which is exercised by the Church of England, and other Protestant communities, we must be allowed to think either that the man has lost his senses, or that he has just awaked from a slumber of 200 years, and thinks that the country, at the present day, will swallow the same gross preparations, which were administered to them, in former times, by the book of Homilies and the fathers of the reformation. "Judge not and ye shall not be judged. Give and it shall be given unto you : *good measure pressed down and shaken together and running over* shall men give into your bosom. For with the same measure that ye mete withal, it shall be measured to you again."*

Vindex asserts, on the authority of some scraps of quotations, chiefly from the fourth council of Lateran, that Catholics allow to the Pope a power of freeing subjects from their oaths of allegiance to heretical, and excommunicated princes. I shall answer him in the words of two gentlemen of the Established Church.

"If those councils (of Lateran, Constance, and Basil)" says Sir John Cox Hippesley, must be pressed into the discussion, it must be said that neither they, nor any other, ever declared that the deposing and dispensing doctrines *are parts of the Catholic faith* : consequently, all Catholics are at liberty to renounce them ; and the only question must be, whether those councils did actually exercise or vindicate to themselves the deposing and dispensing power ? It is well known indeed, that the council of Constance deposed *three* Popes, though this is a fact that the learned and right honourable gentleman (Dr. Duigenan) has not condescended to notice.

"In which ever way this is determined, it cannot effect the present Catholics, as they do not acknowledge, but have expressly renounced, on their oaths, the existence of such powers in any council, much less in any Pope. We will not deny that some of these councils did assume such powers in a certain degree, not however as belonging to these *ex officio*, but as conferred upon them by the free consent of the *temporal authorities*. It must be recollected that, before the dismemberment of the empire, the emperors frequently enforced the observance of the ecclesiastical canons by temporal laws ; and also that, after the conversion of the barbarous nations, their princes did frequently, in dubious cases, (particularly those of

* Luke, vi. 37.

a mixed nature, partly temporal, partly spiritual,) submit themselves to the decisions of the pontiffs, and *request them* to confirm their temporal laws, by the spiritual authority. In such cases, the Popes certainly did not usurp any power, since it was freely given to them.

“The famous decree of the council of Lateran, so much objected to, will be found as a constitution of the Emperor Frederick, and in the precise words of the canon; though, as a *canon*, even its *authenticity* is called in question by the Catholic Bishop Hay, and by Collier and other Protestant writers. The canon, nevertheless, appears in several collections of the councils, nor is it necessary to dispute it, inasmuch as it is not a *canon of faith*, nor was *ever considered* as such by any Catholic.

“Those councils may be considered as *general parliaments of Christendom*, the lords temporal and spiritual being assembled, and almost every Christian sovereign, with the emperors of the East, and of the West, being present, either in person or by representation. On those occasions, the temporal princes (and it must be recollected too, that the abbots often held great temporal sovereignties) often advised the bishops to enforce their canons with the threat of temporal punishments, and promised to see that such threats were executed. It is well known that the Emperor Sigismund, whose safe conduct to John Huss the council of Constance is accused of having violated, declared in that council, that if Huss did not retract, *‘himself would light the first fagot at his pile.’*

“The assumption of such power by *general councils* under such circumstances, cannot therefore be said to be usurpation, as it was only assumed with the consent of the civil authorities, and *could have no effect without their concurrence.*”*

“The heavy charges,” says a clergyman of the Established Church, “brought against the Roman Catholic Church, of

* Substance of the speech of Sir John Cox Hipplesly, bart. 1810. Second edit. page 69, &c. The indefatigable exertions of this gentleman for some years in the cause of Catholic emancipation, entitle him to a gratitude from the Catholics, similar to that which Mr. Wilberforce so justly receives, from every friend of humanity, for his benevolent exertions in procuring the abolition of the slave trade. Perhaps, there is no Protestant in the kingdom, who has paid so much attention to, or understands so well the tenets of the Catholic Church on all subjects, particularly such as are connected with civil matters, as Sir John Cox Hipplesly. I quote him with the greater pleasure because he is in our own neighbourhood, and because I am convinced, though I have not the honour of knowing him personally, that he would be very ready to give any information on the Catholic religion, to those Protestant clergymen who are determined to write upon it without giving themselves the trouble to study its doctrines.

having sanctioned by its canons the dreadful doctrines, ‘ that the Pope may depose kings, absolve their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and give away their kingdoms,’ rest entirely on the resolutions adopted by some general councils, held during the dark ages, when feudal tyranny prevailed throughout the greater part of Europe. Even the canons adopted at those councils have been strangely if not willfully misrepresented, by modern Protestant writers of high rank ; and who have displayed but little candour, and less learning, on the subject ; being, apparently, quite ignorant of the policy of the feudal system. It is unnecessary for me to say any thing further on this particular point, as it has been amply treated on, and completely set at rest, by two of the most learned writers of the present day, namely, by Mr. Lingard, in his review of certain Anti-Catholic publications, and by the late M. Eustace, in his Answer to the Charge of the Bishop of Lincoln.”*

The deposing power of the Pope is solemnly abjured by the whole Catholic body in the united kingdom, in the following terms : “ I further declare that it is not an article of my faith, and that I do renounce, reject, and abjure the opinion, that princes excommunicated by the Pope and council, or any authority of the see of Rome, or by any authority whatsoever, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any person whatsoever.”†

That there are occasions when the duty of allegiance on the part of the subject ceases, Mr. Locke and most *Protestant* writers are agreed. That Protestants have invariably acted upon this principle, and that the present institution of Great Britain is founded upon it is equally certain. Bellarmine and some other Catholic divines have maintained that it belongs to the Pope to decide when the obligation of obedience ceases, and that his decision may safely be followed. Every independent government does well to guard against the acknowledgement of such foreign authority, by any of its subjects ; and therefore no English Catholic hesitates to declare to his government, on oath, that he neither does nor will acknowledge such authority. To me, however, it appears, that much greater importance has been attached to this doctrine, and much more use made of it to terrify the honest people of England than was necessary or reasonable. Happy would it be for governments could they persuade their subjects that it is never lawful

* Substance of the speech of the Rev. I. P. Jones, delivered at a county meeting at Exeter, 1821, page 23.

† Oath and declaration prescribed by an act of the thirty-first of George the Third.

to disobey or rebel, except when they have authority for this purpose from the Pope. But unfortunately, when men are disposed to resist authority, they do not trouble themselves about dispensations. All history proves that, for one instance (if one instance can be found) in which rebellion has been countenanced by the pastors of the Catholic Church, ten thousand have occurred, in which rebellion has been prevented, or peace restored, by their benevolent and zealous exertions. The want of a dispensation from the Pope did not prevent the Protestants of England from rebelling against, and murdering one king, attempting the life of a second, and dethroning and banishing a third, whilst a solemn declaration from the Pope, pronouncing, not without some shew of plausibility, the illegitimate and tyrannical Elizabeth as an usurper, and entitled to no allegiance, did not prevent the Catholics of England from voluntarily and ardently defending her to the last, even at the time when she was murdering their priests, compelling themselves to live in a new religion which their consciences disapproved, and to die in grief and misery, deprived of those spiritual helps and consolations which they considered essential to their future happiness;* and all this at a time when the

* XXIII. *Eliz.* cap. 1.—A person hearing mass—Punishment, *one hundred marks and one year's imprisonment.*

One not repairing to Church according to I. *Eliz.* cap. 2,—Punishment, *twenty pounds for every month he is absent*

XXVII. *Eliz.* cap. 2—Jesuits, seminary priests, and other ecclesiastical persons, born in these realms, and ordained by the pretended authority of the See of Rome, coming into or remaining in the queen's dominions—*guilty of high treason—Punishment, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered.* Their receivers, aiders, and maintainers, knowing them to be such—*felony without benefit of clergy.*

All others brought up in seminaries beyond sea, (and not in orders,) not returning in six months after proclamation in London, and within two days after their return, submitting and taking the oath of supremacy.—*High treason—Punishment, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered.*

Giving, carrying, or sending relief to any ecclesiastical person or seminary beyond sea.—*A Premunire.*

A jesuit, or other ecclesiastical person, who within three days after his return, submits, and takes the oath of supremacy.—*Discharged of the penalties.*

Any person knowing a jesuit or priest to remain within the queen's dominions, and does not, within twelve days, discover him to a justice of peace.—*To be fined and imprisoned at the queen's pleasure.*

The justice of the peace not discovering it to the privy council within twenty-eight days, *forfeits two hundred marks,*

XXXV. *Eliz.* cap. 2.—A jesuit, or priest, or one suspected to be so, refusing to answer whether he be so or not.—*To be committed to prison till he answers directly.*

I quote the above from many similar acts passed in the reign of Elizabeth, merely as a counterpart to the severe decrees Vindex quotes from some Catholic councils and Popes. I beg the reader also to observe, that those decrees of the councils and popes were directed against a comparatively small number of men, the Albigenses, the Wickliffites, and Hussites, men whose doctrines were not only new, but subversive of civil society, some of which would, by the laws of England, as they now stand, be punished with death. But the laws of Elizabeth were enacted a-



Father Huddleston and King Charles the Second, See Page 156.

Catholic body formed at least “ nine-tenths of the population,”* and had certainly the *power* of asserting their rights. The same wonderful devotion to the principles of obedience shewed itself in their steady defence of the unfortunate Charles the First against Protestant rignicides, and in saving the life of Charles the Second from Protestant rebels.† It has continued

against the great mass of the population of the kingdom, not for maintaining any new or unsocial doctrine, but for adhering to what had been the religion of their ancestors for a thousand years, which was and is still the religion of an immense majority of the Christian world, and under the auspices of which the laws and liberties of England had been founded. There is no use in reproaching each other with the cruelties and outrages of past times. But if the comparison of iniquity must be made, I should not fear to oppose the treatment of the Catholics of these kingdoms since the reformation, to all the persecutions, that have taken place in Christendom or Turkey, since the days of Dioclesian.

* Speech of Sir John Cox Hippenley, Bart. page 74.

† It is remarkable that Charles the Second, during the first six days after the

to the present day, through a long period of savage persecution, to keep them so steadily and invariably loyal, that even the host of consecrated defamers, who have never ceased to prefer against them every other crime that malignity could devise, have never dared to accuse them of disloyalty.

Vindex cannot imagine what I mean when I assert that “the infallibility of the Pope is not *an article of the Catholic faith*,” and attempts to prove that, in making this assertion, I am guilty of “a mental reservation extremely clever and convenient.” I am much obliged to him for the cleverness he gives me credit for, when I had no idea that I had done any thing to merit it. When I say that the infallibility of the Pope is not an *article of the Catholic faith*, I mean that no Catholic is bound to believe it, but that each one may think of it as he pleases, just as much as a Protestant may do. Bellarmine and some other divines, chiefly Italian, have believed the Pope infallible, when proposing *ex cathedra*, an *article of faith*. But Vindex says what is not true, when he asserts that “the Church at Rome regards not as her legitimate children, those who renounce it.” In England or Ireland, I am not aware that any Catholic maintains the personal infallibility of the Pope. We believe the *Universal Church to be infallible in matters of faith and morality*. In other words, we believe that all such doctrines of faith or morality as are received by all Catholics in every part of the world as *articles of faith*, must necessarily be the true doctrine; and as truth is immutable, we maintain that this doctrine must be equally so. It is found in our creeds and professions of faith. On *all other points*, we consider private individuals, Popes, and even general councils, as fallible and liable to change.*

If Vindex had attended to this necessary distinction, he

battle of Worcester, “when there was the strictest search made after his majesty’s person, and the reward of a thousand pounds was promised to the discoverer, and the penalty, as in cases of high treason, denounced against any one that should conceal him, *was entirely in the hands of Catholics*.” His chief attendant and companion during this time was the Rev. John Huddleston, a Catholic priest and a Benedictine monk, who frequently concealed him in his own hiding hole, where he himself had often been obliged to lurk to escape the severity of the king’s laws against the Catholic clergy! During this time Father Huddleston made so strong an impression on the king’s mind in favour of the Catholic religion, that his majesty never forgot it, and on his death-bed made profession of the Catholic faith, and received the sacraments of the Catholic Church from the hands of this same worthy and loyal clergyman. See the authentic account of these interesting transactions in Dodd’s Church History, vol. iii. page 177, &c.

* On articles of Catholic Faith see Verron’s *Regula fidei Catholicæ*; on the limits of the different ecclesiastical authorities, see Hooke’s *Principia Religionis naturalis et revelatæ*.

would not have found himself under the necessity of placing us in the unpleasant dilemma, of either admitting that we were not to be believed upon our oaths, or that our Church had changed her faith. Had indeed his explanations of the decrees of the councils of Constance and Lateran been correct, it would have followed that the Church had changed *her discipline* or *opinion*, but not her *faith*, because those decrees were never given or received as *articles of faith*. But since his explanations of these decrees are as incorrect as his reasoning upon them, we can neither consent to give up our immutability, nor allow ourselves to be traduced as perjurers.

I will just observe, however, that had Dr. Moysey originally allowed us this alternative, and merely asserted that 400 years ago the Catholic Church had taught the above odious doctrines, but that the Catholics of England, having solemnly abjured them on oath, were to be acquitted of them, I should probably not have thought it worth my while to give him a reply. The charge of having changed our tenets could not have injured us in the opinion of most of our countrymen, who *boast* of being liable to error, and amongst whom changes in religion are such very ordinary occurrences. We should have satisfied ourselves with knowing that he was mistaken, and retained our respect for that religion, which our knowledge of one single change, in an article of faith, would for ever utterly destroy. But to chuse the harsher alternative, and positively assert that, notwithstanding our oaths, we do maintain the odious and mischievous doctrine, was a proceeding as unnecessary on the part of the Archdeacon, as it was unbearable on ours.

I shall conclude this odious subject with a quotation, which, with the change of a few names and dates, is perfectly applicable to the present occasion.

“Mention no longer ‘violation of faith with heretics.’ You violate all the laws of civil society, in dissolving the ties of friendship, and pointing out your fellow-subjects as the victims of legal severity. You split and rend the nation: you weaken its power, and trespass upon the respect due to your rulers, whom instead of being the fathers of their people, you would fain force to become the heads of factions.

“You violate the sacred rights of nature. Her bountiful Author declares, that ‘he makes the sun to shine on the good and the bad.’ The light of the sun, the brilliancy of the stars, the sweetness of the fruit, the balsamic effluvia of flowers, are dispensed with a liberal hand to the heathen and idolater. Must you deprive your neighbours of gifts common to all

Adam's children, because they stick to a religion which all your forefathers professed, and which if wrong, can hurt no man but themselves?

“In vain do you attempt to impose upon the public, with extracts and spurious canons, obsolete decrees, patches of councils, legends of massacres, in order to fix a creed upon us. The world knows that Roman Catholics sway the sceptre of authority in kingdoms and republics. The very nature then of civil society, is a manifest contradiction to the creed you impute to us : for, if we were no more than machines veering at the breath of Popes and priests, whom neither conscience, religion, the sacred ties of an oath, nor the fear of God's judgment can restrain, patentees of guilt, and sure of impunity, we could not form a society for the space of one year : for, in such a society the notions of vice and virtue would be confounded; the blackest crimes and the purest virtue reduced to the same level; the discipline of morals destroyed; the harmony of the body politic dissolved; the brother armed against the brother; and if, by a kind of miracle, in such a cursed number of men, a second Abel could be found, the earth would soon groan with the cries of his blood. If divines have attempted to demonstrate the existence of God from the nature of civil society, the very nature of civil society demonstrates the falsehood of the creed with which you compliment us. And if the gloomy plan of such a horrid republic please your imaginations, go and lay the foundations of it in some distant part of the earth. Be yourselves its members and governors, for no Christian could live there.

“When the delicate pencils of the Gibbons, Reynolds and Marmontels, will paint the political scenery of the eighteenth century; when on the extensive canvass, they will represent the gloom of long reigning prejudice, scattering, as the clouds of night, at the approach of the rising sun; when they will paint the poignard, drenched in human blood, snatched from the hand of stern *persecution*—the French praying in concert with the American—the Americans invited into Russia—the order of military merit established in favour of Protestants, in the palace of a Catholic king—Ireland rising from the sea, covered with her Fabii and Scipios, pointing their spears to distant shores, and holding forth the olive and sheaf of corn to their neighbours of all denominations; when they will contrast the present to former times, shew the happy result of a change of system, and prove that the world is refined; you, painted in as frightful attitudes as the group of figures in Raphael's Judgment, with stern fanaticism in your counte-

nances, a bible in one hand and a faggot in the other—you, I say, will be an exception to the general rule: the world will read with surprise, that, in seventeen hundred and eighty, there have been fanatics, in England and Scotland, that gave birth to so many illustrious writers. Your transactions shall be recorded in the appendix to the history of Jack Straw and Wat Tyler; and your chaplains and apologists shall be ranked with James Nailor and Hugh Peters.”*



§ 10.

Remarks on the Charge of Misrepresentation, pointed at by Vindex.—Examination of his Reasons for Opposing Catholic Emancipation.—Explanation of the name of Roman Catholic.—Concluding Remarks.

Having disposed of the accusations preferred against the Catholic religion, it will not be expected that I should notice the abuse cast upon myself by one of Dr. Moysey's anonymous defenders. There is, however, one reflection which I must notice, because in attacking me, it is meant to injure the cause I defend. Speaking of my former Letter to the Archdeacon, Vindex says, “It appears to me from the subject of your letter, that you ignorantly misconceive, if you do not wilfully misrepresent, the tenets of your own Church.”† Now I presume, that when Vindex makes the supposition of my “ignorantly misconceiving the tenets of my own Church,” he imagines that the theological education of a Catholic clergyman is confined to the translation of the Greek testament, or the reading of a few Catholic controvertists. In this case I grant it would have been as easy for me to misconceive the tenets of my Church, as it is for the clergymen of another Church to misconceive theirs. But it may be proper to inform him that the theological education of a Catholic priest, is something very different from this. Before *he* can be admitted to orders, he must not only know accurately what are the doc-

* Father O'Leary's Tracts, Dublin edit. 1816, page 153. Whoever wishes for further information on this subject will find it in these spirited and eloquent works. Also in Milner's Letters to a Prebendary, &c.; Lingard's and Eustace's Tracts, &c.

† Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, page 2.

trines of his own religion, but he must be convinced of the truth of them all, and must have examined into and seen the force of every objection, which heresy or infidelity has brought against them. Not only are the works of *Catholic* divines put into his hands, but the ablest productions of *Anti-Catholic* writers are subjected to his examination, and he is encouraged to draw from them every argument he can devise against his own religion. If after these examinations, there should appear any doubt of his perfect conviction of the truth of his religion, he would not be allowed to receive ordination, and in this country particularly, he would be a madman if he did.

In every country indeed the restraints and privations to which the *Catholic* priesthood is subjected, are calculated to prevent any one from embracing it, except from principles of real religion, and a sincere desire to benefit his fellow-creatures. But in England, where the ancient honours and revenues of his Church are enjoyed by a more favoured race, where a mere subsistence, frequently dependent upon the gratuities of his own flock, and oftentimes scarcely this is afforded him; where the poor pittance obtained for his maintenance, is expected to be shared, and always is willingly shared with the objects of distress and the necessities of his mission; where the most arduous and painful duties generally fill up every moment of his day, and frequently break his hours of nightly rest; when in the midst of a life like this, he sees himself surrounded by men who hate him for his religion's sake alone, and who sometimes traduce him, as the worst of men, in the very churches which his forefathers built, and in the pulpits from which, for ages, *they* zealously inculcated the amiable duties of fraternal charity; when he sees himself an exile in his own country, poor in the midst of plenty, despised where he might be honoured, he is worse than a madman, if he embrace such a state, or continue in it one single day, without the fullest conviction of the truth of his religion, and the consequent hopes of a future recompense. The *English Catholic* priest may indeed *truly* say with St. Paul, "If in this life only we hope, we are of all men most miserable." *

What inducement then, can an *English Catholic* clergyman have "wilfully to misrepresent the tenets of his Church?" Is it likely, if he knows whose tenets to be idolatrous, that he will subject himself to the above hardships in this world, that he may be eternally damned in the next? Is a *Catholic* clergyman

* *Corinth.* xv. 19.

different in nature from all the rest of mankind? Is he alone insensible to the attractions of a life of ease, affluence and pleasure? Is it in his nature to prefer the barren desert to the fertile plain? the stern poverty of the monk, which admits of no additional enjoyment, even in the midst of wealth, to the soft comforts of the modern churchman, who can enjoy all the good things of this world and lay exclusive claims to all the happiness of the next? If conscience would permit the change, is it likely that the love of images or falsehood would prevent it? Where is the man who would not say with the poet,

“Pone metus, veniam, simulacraque nostra relinquam.”

Will it be said, that the object of the Catholic priest is to make converts to his religion by misstating its doctrines? But will not these very converts immediately abandon it, when they find they have been deceived?

And how could a person like myself, if I wished it, misrepresent the tenets of my Church on this important subject? For some years I have been in the weekly habit of teaching the doctrines of the Catholic religion to a numerous and respectable congregation in a public place of worship, where many Protestants (as Dr. Moysey, I am told, so feelingly deplores) are in the habit of attending. If I teach one doctrine from the press and another from the pulpit, are there not thousands of persons, both Catholics and Protestants, who could come forward and expose my duplicity? Have I ever been convicted of a falsehood? Have I ever misstated the religion of others for the purpose of defending my own? Why then are such insinuations thrown out against me, and that too under the cover of an anonymous publication? Can this be the work of the dignitary of the Church of England? Or can he, by more than mere silence, approve of such proceedings?

Vindex bears honourable testimony to the “unshrinking bravery of the Catholic soldier in the field of battle,” but denies that after he “has fought bravely, and bled profusely in his country’s cause,” he ought to be admitted to offices of trust, because it cannot be expected that he will “make the Protestant Church and state the object of his fostering care and protection in an equal degree with the Protestant.”* This is a hard saying to address to a body of brave men who constitute one half, if not two-thirds of those victorious armies and navies which have raised England to such a height of military renown.

* Letter to the Rev. P. Baines, page 9, &c.

It is hard, (and if they were not *Catholics* it might be *bold*,) to say to them, "You have fought bravely, and shed your blood profusely in defence of your country; but you must not presume to expect any reward; because 'it is one thing to be a good soldier, and another thing to be qualified for a confidential legislator.' You are, unfortunately, a suspected race, and however gallant your conduct, however steady your loyalty, and however irreproachable your lives, you must never expect to rise from your degraded state, because certain comfortable and wealthy clergymen of the Established Church think that you would not 'make the Protestant Church and state the objects of your fostering care.'"

But what reason has Vindex to suspect the Catholic of want of attachment to the *state*? Was not that state founded by his Catholic ancestors, and has not he, except for the persecution he suffers, as much interest in its preservation as his Protestant countrymen?

But it is the *Church*, I dare say, that Vindex has in his eye. And what does he mean by the word *Church*? Does he mean the *religion of Christ*? I hope this is not so precarious a state as to be in danger of ruin should the government of England, allow to a few brave men the liberties of their country. Does he mean the *doctrines of the Established Church*? I know of no doctrines peculiar to this Church, except such as are contained in the thirty-nine articles; and surely there can be no necessity for a Catholic senator's *defending* them, when even the established clergy declare that there is no necessity for *believing* them. Does he perhaps mean by the word *Church*, the *revenues* which are enjoyed by the higher orders of clergy in the Established Church? The importance of defending these may, indeed, be a very proper subject for an archdeacon to discuss, when addressing his clergy; (for to them nothing can be more interesting;) but is it equally so to the public?

There was a time when Englishmen were told and *believed* that the Church of England was destined by Providence "to beat down sin, death, the Pope and the devil, and all the kingdom of Antichrist in every part of the world, and to gather together 'the poor silly flock of Christ all into one fold.'"^{*} Nor can we wonder that, under such impressions, the honest people of this country should feel anxious that the holy men appointed by heaven to accomplish this desirable work, should be well rewarded for their pains. Experience, however, has proved that these expectations were altogether delusive. The empires

^{*} Book of Homilies, p. 398.

of "sin, death, the Pope, and the devil," are each as powerful as ever, and "the poor silly flock of Christ" in this country instead of being more united than formerly, is more disunited than any body of Christians in the whole world. Hence the opinions of men respecting the deserts of those apostles, who were to have renewed the face of the earth," have greatly changed, and the "poor silly sheep" who have leaped over the fences of the new fold, and appointed themselves new shepherds, are no longer so deeply impressed with the advantage of maintaining the pastors whose assistance they have spurned, in addition to those whom they have chosen for their guides. Even our legislators themselves, though not Catholics, begin to doubt whether it is quite essential to the welfare of the state that Ireland should be thrown into a state of rebellion, and its wretched inhabitants driven by famine and despair to commit atrocities at which humanity shudders, merely that a large body of Established clergymen who have never seen their flocks, may be enabled to dance and abuse the Catholics at Bath and Cheltenham. To me it appears that if the Established clergy saw clearly their own interests, they would enjoy quietly the good things which the law has given them, and not in these days of domestic distress and foreign revolution, direct the eyes of a starving and daring populace to a fruit which ought to be forbidden.

That Catholics should have much affection for a body of men from whom they have and do experience so great injustice, cannot reasonably be expected; but if only such as love the establishment of the church, are to be admitted into the councils of the state, I am much mistaken if ere long the Established clergy do not find themselves entirely burdened with the offices of the latter, and entirely released from those of the former.

Vindex maintains that the Catholics are perfectly free "because exclusion from power is only *negative* in its operation. It inflicts nothing," says he, "it only withholds something." I cannot always fathom the depth of his metaphysics, but to me it appears that the present state of the sister island is a refutation of his system. The "withholding something," namely meat and drink from the poor Irish, is not a *negative*, but a *positive* evil, which is not altogether done away with, by the privilege they enjoy of practising a religion, which despair has driven them to forget. It is even thought by many, that the Established clergy of Ireland would soon be less *free* to collect their tithes, if the Catholic clergy were more *negative* in enforcing the payment of them, or *withheld* for a few months that

powerful influence they are reproached with exercising over their flocks, and which they never cease to employ to induce the people to practice that difficult gospel lesson of "loving those that hate them, blessing those that curse them, and praying for those that persecute and calumniate them.

I cannot conclude this dissertation without offering a few remarks on a postscript added by Vindex to his letter. "I have," says he, "throughout this letter, designedly styled the members of your church '*Roman Catholics*,' because I conceive the appropriation of the term '*Catholic*' in your Church to be founded on arrogance and presumption." I must own that in reading Vindex, and observing the style to which he frequently descended to, I was surprised not to meet with the old nicknames of Papist, Romanist, &c. with which writers of his level generally honour us; and it gratified me to think that even an anonymous writer, who copied the arguments, did not venture to copy all the abuse of former days. It appears, however, that Vindex really did not intend to be so civil as I imagined, and that in calling us *Roman Catholics*, he thought he was giving us an appellation which we disown, and which, like the above nicknames, had been the fruit of Protestant liberality. It may be proper then to inform him, that although *Catholic* is our family name,* which we *generally* use without any addition, and which we have received from apostolic times, yet when we wish to do ourselves particular honour, we add to it the title of *Roman*. By the former we are distinguished from all heretics, as a learned Protestant writer could inform him; by the latter, from all schismatics. "Heretics," says Bingham, "commonly confined religion either to a particular region, or some select party of men, and therefore had no pretence to style themselves Catholics: but the Church of Christ had a just title to this name, being called Catholic (as Optatus observes) because it was universally diffused over all the world. And in this sense the name is as ancient almost as the Church itself."† But as the early Christians adopted the name of *Catholic* to distinguish the members of the true

* Christian is my name, Catholic is my surname, said a Christian writer of the fourth century, St. Pacian.

† Bingham's Antiquities of the Christian Church, chap. i. sect. 7. N. B. I employ the word *heretics* in this place, because Bingham employs it. In a Catholic sense, this word implies a person not only *in error*, but *obstinate in error*. On this account, I never would employ it against the generality of Protestants in this country; because though I believe them to be in error, I do not think they are generally *obstinately* so, but are deceived by interested men, who misrepresent to them the religion of their ancestors.

Church from all heretics, so in later times they assumed the additional title of *Roman*, to distinguish themselves from all schismatics, and to point out more clearly their exclusive right to the name of Catholic. For when larger portions of the Church were by schism separated from her communion, it sometimes happened that they retained for a certain time their ancient appellation of *Catholic*, and it was then that the great body of the faithful added to the name of Catholic the title of *Roman*, to signify their continued adherence to that authority from which the others had revolted.

During the reign of Henry the Eighth, before the Church of England had adopted any of the new doctrines, and whilst she remained purely *schismatical*, she continued to be called Catholic, and had she continued so to the present day, we, who adhere to the communion of the universal Church, should have been careful, on all occasions to have styled ourselves *Roman Catholics*. But when England afterwards adopted the doctrines of the Reformers, and received, in consequence, the name of Protestant, she instantly ceased to be called Catholic, a name to which she had indeed forfeited her *right* when she became a *national* church. Her attempt to recover this name, should such attempt be made, is useless; as no one will acknowledge her right to it. For did she even comprise within her pale the whole population of the kingdom, still, according to Bingham, she could have no pretension to the name of *Catholic*, "because her religion would be confined to a particular region, or a select party of men." But when at least one third of her population are the ancient *Catholics* of the country, and more than another third is composed of a variety of sects, each less numerous, and generally of even more modern date than herself, should the Established Church in such a case, call herself the universal or Catholic church, it would only be acknowledging publicly that she ought to be what she is not. Since therefore, in this country there is no fear that we shall be misunderstood when we call ourselves simply Catholics, we generally, for the sake of brevity, omit the title of *Roman*, but on more solemn or more ceremonious occasions we add it at our option. What Vindex can mean by saying that "he considers our appropriation of the term Catholic to be founded on arrogance and presumption," I cannot imagine. Surely he does not expect that we shall ask his permission to use a title which has descended to us from apostolic times, and to which our right is established by a prescription of above eighteen centuries.

If so, I fear the “presumption and arrogance” is on his side, not ours.

It is curious to observe, how all sects of Christians, who have separated themselves from the Catholic Church, have in all ages laboured, but in vain, to obtain this envied title. “Among many considerations,” observed St. Augustine, in the fifth century, “that bind me to the Church, is the name of *Catholic*, which not without reason, in the midst of so many heresies, this Church alone has so retained, that, although all heretics wish to acquire the name, should a stranger ask where the Catholics assemble, the heretics themselves will not dare to point out any of their own places of meeting.”* Now to apply St. Augustine’s rule to our own times, I ask Vindex whether if a respectable man enquired of him the way to the *Catholic chapel in this city*, he could, in honour, send him to Laura Chapel or the Octagon?

The veneration which the ancient Christians paid to the Roman See, is scarcely excelled by that which they expressed for the name of Catholic. St. Ireneus, in the second century, calls Rome “the greatest, the most ancient, the most illustrious Church, founded by the glorious apostles Peter and Paul, receiving from them her doctrine, which was announced to all men, and which, through the succession of her bishops, is come down to us. Thus,” continues he, “we confound all those, who, through evil designs, or vain glory, or perverseness, teach what they ought not. For to this Church, on account of its superior headship, every other must have recourse, that is the faithful of all countries, in which Church has been preserved the doctrine delivered to the apostles.”† He then gives the succession of Popes down to his own time, namely, not quite a century from the death of the apostles, and whilst Eleutherius, the twelfth Pope, filled the apostolic see.

That the veneration of Christians for this illustrious Church and for the title of Roman, should have continued to increase with the lapse of time, no one can wonder, when he considers, that whilst so many empires have risen and fallen, and every earthly establishment has yielded to the destroying hand of time; whilst even in the Church itself, a regular succession of bishops can no where be traced to the apostolic times, except in the Church of Rome alone, *that Church*, like the

* Contra Ep. Fundam, tom. ii. page 46. — Faith of Catholics, page 94.

† “Ad hanc, propter potiorem principalitatem, omnem necesse est convenire ecclesiam.” Advers. Hæreses. Lib. iii. c. 3.



See also page 168.

rock, upon which Christ promised that he would build his Church, against which the gates of hell should never prevail, has alone withstood the shock of ages, alone holds up to the world her unbroken succession of bishops up to the days of St. Peter, and continues to this day the great rallying point and centre of Christian unity. These sentiments are the more deeply impressed when we reflect, “that there has been no nation as yet, since the apostolic age, converted from Infidelity to Christianity, which has not been brought to the light of faith by men, either sent by the Pope of Rome for that purpose, or in communion with him.”*

It is to me a matter of surprise, that Vindex is not as eager to claim, for his own Church, the title of *Roman*, as he is to

* See an historical proof of this assertion in the Religious World displayed, by the Rev. Robt. Adam, B. A. Oxford, vol. ii. page 3, 4, &c.

give it to us. For unless the Church of England has received her *orders* from Rome, it is certain she has no clergy. To the appellation of *Catholic* she can never hope to have the slightest pretension ; to that of *Roman* she might have put in some claims, however doubtful.*

It is the universality, unity, perpetuity and stability of the Church, expressed by the appellation of *Roman Catholic*, which inspire its members with such unbounded confidence in its truth, and is the chief cause of that “lofty and dictatorial” (Vindex ought to have said *firm and decided*) tone, of which he complains in the writings of its defenders. When a Catholic clergyman has been taught to extend his view beyond the boundaries of his native island and to take a survey of the whole Christian world ; when combining the past with the present, he sees a religion beginning with Christ, and descending in one unbroken succession to the present day ; when he contemplates the Church, founded on an immovable rock, which becomes the centre of a circle, widening through every age, like the waves on a ruffled surface, till it embraces in its pale all the nations of the known world ; when he beholds the spouse of Christ, looking down from her proud eminence on the wrecks of all human things, scattering the blessings of religion from shore to shore, and guarding them from age to age for her obedient children, whilst those who forsake her, like sheep that have left their fold, wander for a time in restless uncertainty, till at last they are seen no more ; when he sees her in the midst of the rudest assaults of earth and hell, still resting securely on the promises of him who cannot fail, as confident of the future protection of heaven as she is secure of the past, *her* confidence becomes his own ; and if at that moment he beholds some consequential member of a modern sect, cased from head to foot in the armour of misrepresentation, advancing towards him and hurling his little spear or striking his pettish hand against the rock of the Church, he cannot repress the feeling at least of *pity*, which is only increased by the anger and vexation of his disappointed foe.

I have the honour to remain,

Very Reverend Sir, Your obedient servant,

Bath, March 22, 1822.

P. BAINES.

* Luther, though never accused of being too modest, felt so strongly the inconsistency of professing a belief “in the holy Catholic Church,” after he had separated himself from her, that he changed the apostle’s creed, substituting the word *Christian* instead of *Catholic* !

APPENDIX.

AN EXPOSITION

OF THE

CONTROVERTED DOCTRINES OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH,

By BOSSUET,

WITH PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS AND NOTES

BY THE

REV. JOHN FLETCHER,

Extracted from the CATHOLIC'S MANUAL.*

On the Invocation of the Saints.

“The doctrine of the Church upon this subject is,—that it is useful to address ourselves to the saints, in order to obtain the aid of their intercession.† She, however, at the same time, teaches, that we must do this in that same spirit of charity; and according to that same order of social fellowship,

* I hope none of my readers will be alarmed when I tell them that this exposition of Bossuet appears to have been mainly instrumental in bringing about the lamentable conversion of Miss Loveday, which has drawn more expressions of horror from the religious editors of English news-papers, and more tears from the pious ladies of England, than the conversion of a thousand Misses to any of the sects which deny the divinity of Christ would have done!

† Tobias xii. 12. *The angel Raphael says to Tobis; When thou didst pray with tears, and didst bury the dead, I offered up thy prayer to the Lord.*

“2 Machabees xv. 12, &c. *This, says Judas, relating his vision, this is Jeremiah, the prophet of God, who prays much for the people and the holy city*

which prompts us to solicit the mutual assistance of one another, whilst we dwell together on this earthly theatre. Did the mediatorship of Christ receive any injury, or disparagement, from the circumstance of our addresses to the saints, then would it also, as the Catechism of the council of Trent remarks, be violated in like manner by the prayers, which we thus reciprocally offer up for each other's benefit.

"In order, however, still farther to prevent any misunderstanding, the Catechism, which I just referred to, points out the very great and essential difference that exists between the manner in which we implore the assistance of the Almighty, and that in which we petition the intercession of the saints. *We entreat the Almighty*, it says, *either to confer upon us some blessing; or to deliver us from some misfortune. But since the saints are more pleasing to him than we are, we, hence, entreat them to lend us their assistance, and to obtain for us the grant of our requests. For this reason, the forms of our petitions, on each occasion, are extremely different. Addressing ourselves to God, we say to him: HAVE MERCY ON US; HEAR US. Whereas, speaking to the saints, we say merely: PRAY FOR US.* (Tit. de Invoc. Sanct.) Hence, be the manner what it may in which men chance to present their petitions to the saints, it is at least to this form, that the Church and its enlightened members are always careful to reduce them:

"Luke xv. 10. *I say to you, there shall be joy before the angels of God, upon one sinner doing penance.*

"Apocalypse v. 8. *And when he had opened the book, the four living creatures and the four and twenty ancients, fell down before the Lamb; having each of them harps, and golden vials full of odours, which are the prayers of the Saints.*

"Apostle's Creed. *I believe in the communion of Saints.*

"The belief of the Fathers of the church respecting this article is sufficiently, perhaps, stated in the preceding chapter. But should the reader wish to see the testimonies of these holy men, either upon this, or any other controverted subject, I refer him to the work of Messrs. Berington and Kirk, entitled, '*The Faith of Catholics, confirmed by Scripture; and attested by the Fathers,*' a work, which stands a splendid monument of learning, industry and talent; and whose utility, if equalled, is not surpassed by any modern publication.

"The fact, however, is so notorious, that in the early ages of the Church, the faithful every where invoked the saints, that it is not contested by the enlightened Protestant. 'It is,' says Bishop Montague, 'the common voice with general concurrence, without contradiction, of reverend and learned antiquity. And I see no cause to dissent from them (the Catholics,) touching intercession of this kind. Christ is not thus wronged in his mediation. And it is no impiety to say, as the Catholics do: HOLY MARY, PRAY FOR ME.' (Invoc. of Saints.)

"Indeed, even Luther himself approves of the invocation of the saints. 'I allow,' he says, 'with the whole Christian Church, and believe, that the saints in heaven should be invoked. For who can contradict the miracles wrought daily at their tombs? (De purgat. quorund art.)

and this, the above catechism, in the subsequent parts, confirms.

“But it may be well, too, to take notice of the manner in which the council itself, instructing the pastors of the Church how they ought to speak of the invocation of the saints, commands them to address the faithful. It bids them say that *‘The saints, who reign with Christ, offer up their prayers for the benefit of men; that it is good and useful, suppliantly to ask their intercession; and to have recourse to their aid and influence, in order to obtain favours from GOD, THROUGH HIS SON, JESUS CHRIST, OUR LORD; who alone is our Saviour and our Redeemer.’*

“Neither is this all that the council teaches. For, besides this, it condemns all those who presume to inculcate any doctrine that is at variance with the foregoing principles.

“From these principles it is, therefore, easy to understand, what the belief is of the Catholic Church, respecting the invocation of the saints. It is simply this,—that it is useful to solicit their intercession, in order to obtain from God, *through the merits and mediation of Jesus Christ*, those benefits which we stand in need of. It is, indeed, entirely through Jesus Christ, that we obtain whatsoever we do obtain, in consequence of the influence of the saints: since it is in the name of Jesus Christ, that the saints themselves address the Eternal Father; and in his name only, that their petitions are attended to. Such, expressed thus clearly in few words by the council of Trent, is the faith of the Catholic Church on the article of the invocation of the saints. How astonishing then it is, that after an explanation so plain and satisfactory, the Protestant should still obstinately accuse us of ‘departing from Jesus Christ.’ We thus, in reality, only beseech his members, who are at the same time ours; his children, who are also our brethren; his saints, who are our first-fruits, to unite their intercession to our supplications; entreating the common master of them and of us, to grant our petitions, in the name of our common mediator, Jesus Christ.

“The same council explains to us still further, and in very few and easy words, what the spirit is, or what the intention of the Church, when she offers up to God the sacrifice of the mass, by way of honouring the memory of the saints. The honour, which we pay to them in this sacred action consists in naming them in our prayers, ‘the faithful servants of God; in returning thanks to God for the victories, which, through his grace, they have so happily purchased; and in beseeching him humbly, to allow his indignation to be softened by the influences of their intercession.

“ St. Austin, above thirteen hundred years ago, had made the observation, that, ‘ although it was the custom of the universal Church to offer up the sacrifice of the mass over the bodies, and in the memory of the martyrs, yet it ought not hence to be imagined, that it was *to* the martyrs, that the holy oblation was presented.’ (L. 8. De Civit. Dei.) In like manner, the same saint remarks again, that ‘ at the holy table, during the celebration of the sacred mysteries, a commemoration is made of the blessed martyrs ; not by the way of praying for them, as it was the custom to pray for the rest of the dead, but rather to entreat them to offer up prayers for us.’ I cite the words of the holy bishop, because they are nearly the same with those, which, upon this subject, the council of Trent makes use of in its instructions to the faithful. *The Church*, says the council, *does not offer up sacrifice to the saints, but to God alone, who has crowned the saints. Hence, the priest addressing Saint Peter or Saint Paul, does not say to them : I OFFER THIS SACRIFICE TO YOU ; but returning thanks to God for their victories, he asks only their assistance ; in order that they, whom we commemorate on earth, may be pleased to intercede for us in heaven.* (Sess. 22.) Thus it is that we honour the saints ; wishing thus to obtain by the help of their suffrages the grace of God ; and above all the grace to imitate their virtues ; to which we are animated by the contemplation of their bright example ; and by the honour which, before God, we pay to their happy memories.

“ The Protestant who will give himself the trouble to consider the above explanation of our doctrine, will, if he be candid, be compelled to own that, as we neither take away from the Deity any one of the divine perfections, so neither do we attribute to the creatures any one quality or operation that is appropriate but to God. Thus are we distinguished from idolaters, a name which, as it is applied to us, was invented only by Protestant ill-will, in order to make us odious.

“ But it is objected, that, ‘ by addressing our prayers to the saints, and by honouring them as if they were present in every place, we attribute to them a kind of immensity, or at least a knowledge of the secrets of the human heart ; a circumstance, which according to the testimony of the scriptures, God reserves solely to himself.’ Now this objection, although indeed often repeated, is still founded upon ignorance, or upon a very mistaken notion of our tenets. For without examining upon what foundation a certain degree of knowledge of earthly things, or even of the secrets of the human heart, may be attributed to the

saints ; without examining this, it is methinks evident, that it is not raising the creature above the sphere of its condition, to say, that it does possess some knowledge of these objects, by the means of that light which God communicates to it. The example of the prophets evinces this. God has often imparted to the prophets the foresight of future events, although such quality ought to appear confined most peculiarly to himself.

“ But in short never did there exist any Catholics so unwise as to have imagined that the saints are acquainted with our wants, or read our desires, through the medium solely of their own sagacity. All that the Church, after the example of every age of antiquity, teaches upon this subject is, that it is useful to address our supplications to them, whether they learn our necessities through the ministry of the angels ; for the angels, the scripture informs us, are acquainted with human transactions, being ‘ ministering spirits,’ appointed by God, to promote the work of our salvation : whether they know our desires through the medium of a particular revelation ; or in short, whether God himself discovers the secret to them in the mirror of his own infinite essence, that principle in which all truth is comprehended. These are points upon which the Church has decided nothing.

“ Be the medium however what it may, by which God communicates to the saints the knowledge of our prayers, it is still true, that the Catholic does not, as did the idolaters, attribute to any human creature any one of the divine perfections : since he does not acknowledge, even in the greatest saints, any possible degree of excellence which does not immediately derive from God. He entertains no veneration for them, save that which results from their virtues ; owns no virtue, save that which is the gift of grace ; no knowledge, besides that which God communicates ; no power to assist us, beyond that which arises from their intercessions, ; nor any share of happiness, except that which is the effect of their conformity to the rule of the divine will.

“ Whoever, therefore, considers our sentiments concerning the saints, will conceive it manifest, that we do not exalt these happy beings above the rank of human creatures. He will likewise understand, what the nature is of that external honour which we pay them. The external honour which we pay them, is merely the expression of those interior sentiments, which we entertain for their virtues and their sanctity.*

* “ The Protestant who has seriously considered the real sentiments of the Catholic Church, with respect to the veneration which we pay to the saints, will I am

“But since the honour which the Catholic Church pays to the saints, is manifested principally by the respect which we shew to their images and relics, it is for this reason proper to explain what our belief is respecting these two objects of our veneration.*

On Images.

“In relation to images, the council of Trent expressly forbids any one to believe, that *there is any divinity, or any virtue in them, which should appear to claim the tribute of his veneration; that it is sinful to ask any favour from them or to place our confidence in them.* The decree of the council is, that ‘all the honour which is paid to them, shall be referred to the originals whom they are designed to represent.’ Sess. 25. de Invoc. Sanct.

“In these words of the council, the plainest distinction is made between the ideas of the Catholic, and the notions of the idolater, on the subject of images. So far, according to the above definition, is the Catholic from believing, as did the idol-

sure, if candid, acknowledge that there is not in it any thing that even distantly resembles the nature of idolatry. Hence, he will reprobate that insolence which daily reviles us as stupid idolaters; and he will feel astonished at that singular policy, which compels men to swear, (as our legislators swear,) that we are such. ‘I do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God profess, (this is the oath which qualifies our legislators for their acts of wisdom’) testify and declare, that I do believe, that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, as now used in the Church of Rome, is superstitious and idolatrous.’ Good God! how truly horrible! To swear that it is idolatry, which has not a shadow of idolatry in it! To call heaven to witness, that it is idolatry which the Christian universe, through every age, the saints and the sages of every country, have fervently cultivated! Pitiful is the policy which requires the frightful oath, and dreadful the hardihood that takes it.

* “Like the invocation of the saints, the early use and veneration of their images, are conceded to us by the best informed Protestant writers. The Centuriators allow, that they were common, even, in the third and fourth ages of the Church. Eusebius, they say, writes that he saw in Asia, Christians who preserved the images of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of Christ himself. (Cent. 3.)

“Tertullian, the same writers add, seems to declare, that the Christians kept the image of the cross both in their public assemblies and in their private houses.—And it was hence that the Pagans called them, ‘Worshippers of the Cross.’ (Cent. 3.) See also Cent. 4 passim. Our own English writers, nearly all who have treated on this subject, make the same concessions.

“In the Wittenberg editions of Luther’s works, the great reformer is represented on his knees before a crucifix.

“I could indeed adduce the authority of many celebrated Protestants, who approve of the use and veneration of images. The pictures of Christ, says Bishop Montague, of the Blessed Virgin and of the saints, may be had in houses, and placed in Churches: and respect and honour may be given them. (In Epistom.)

ater, that there resides any divinity in such objects, that not even does he think, or conceive, there is any virtue in them whatsoever, *except that* of awakening in the mind the remembrance of those originals whom they are intended to exhibit.—This is the sole foundation of the honour that we pay to images.

“It cannot, for example, be denied that the image of Christ Jesus crucified, awakens in us, when we cast our eyes upon it, the lively remembrance of him, ‘who hath loved us so, as to lay down his life for our salvation.’ Whilst the contemplation of the image nourishes in the soul this useful recollection, we are, of course, inclined naturally to declare, by some external expression, the tenderness of our gratitude; and, by humbling ourselves before the representation, to testify the willingness of our submission to the divine original. So that, to speak correctly or theologically, when we honour an image of an apostle or a martyr, our intention is not so much to honour the image, as to honour the apostle, or the martyr, in the presence of the image. Such is the language of the Roman pontifical. That of the council of Trent is similar to it. ‘The honour,’ says the council, ‘which we pay to images, is referred to the originals whom they represent; so that, by means of the images which we kiss, and before which we kneel, we adore Jesus Christ, and venerate his saints.’ (Sess. 25.)

“In short, it is easy to understand in what spirit the Church designs to honour images, by the characters of that respect, which she pays to the cross, and to the book of the gospel. Bending down to the cross, our intention is to adore him ‘who bore our sins upon the tree.’ And if we bow our heads before the book of the gospel; if we rise from our seats when the holy volume is presented to us; or if we kiss it with profound respect, the whole honour, on such occasions, is referred solely to that eternal truth, which is therein proposed unto us.

“The Protestant is indeed unreasonable, who considers as an act of idolatry, that religious feeling of the mind, which induces the Catholic to uncover, or bow down his head before the image of the cross, merely in commemoration of Him, who expired upon it for the love of man. And blind, exceedingly blind, is he, who does not perceive the infinite difference which there is between those who put their trust in idols, under the idea that the idol contained some divinity, or at least some secret virtue; and those, who, like us, declare that the only use of images, is, to raise the soul to heaven, in order thereto hon-

our Christ Jesus or his saints ; and in the saints, the Almighty himself, who alone is the author of all grace and sanctification.*

On Relics.

“The honour which, in imitation of the first Christians, we pay to the relics of the saints, is similar to that which we testify for their memories,† The bodies of the saints are so many victims that have been offered up to God, either by the sacrifice of martyrdom, or by the hardships of penance. And did the Protestant reflect, that it is in this point of view that we consider them, he would not then conceive, as through prejudice he does too often, that the respect which, from such motives, we shew to these venerable objects, could possibly detach us from that honour which we owe to God.

*“It is a fact, that there is hardly a single passage in the scriptures, which is connected with any controverted question, that the Reformers did not, some way or other, alter and pervert ; ‘making,’ as the learned Protestant, Zanchius, admits ‘the scriptures agree with their own fancies.’ They did this, particularly in those texts which, relating to idols, they thought fit to apply to images. In all these, they constantly translated the word ‘idol,’ image, or else ‘image,’ idol, precisely as the alteration was adapted to their designs ; or as it seemed best calculated to alarm the piety, and to scare the simplicity of the ignorant. It was thus, for example, that they translated the twenty-first verse of the fifth chapter of the first epistle of St. John—‘Babes keep yourselves from images ;’ a translation which is false and ridiculous, as its aim was mischievous. For, in order to deceive the vulgar and excite confusion, they fixed up the awful words in huge and terrific characters, throughout all, or nearly all, the churches of the nation. It was by falsehoods and impositions, such as these, that they, at length and chiefly, succeeded in cheating the credulity of the public.

† “Fourth book of Kings, xiii. 21. When a dead man was let down into the sepulchre of Eliseus, no sooner did he touch the bones of the prophet, than he was revived, and stood up on his feet.

“Acts xix. 11, 12. And God wrought, by the hand of Paul, more than common miracles. So that even there were brought from his body to the sick, handkerchiefs and aprons ; and the diseases departed from them, and the wicked spirits went out of them.

“The Centuriators allow that the veneration of relics prevailed in the Church in the third and fourth centuries. Saint Cyprian, they say, exhorts the priests of Rome carefully to mark down the days of the deaths of the martyrs, in order that they might celebrate their commemoration in the chapels of the martyrs. (Cent. 3.) ‘It was,’ they add, ‘in this (the fourth) century, that began the translation and veneration of the relics of the saints.’ (Cent. 4.)

So manifest, in reality, is the veneration which, in the early ages of the Church, the Christians used to pay to relics, that not even do the most learned, though inveterate Protestants attempt to dispute it. Daillé, Blondel, Chemnitius, Whitaker, &c, attest the prevalence of this veneration frequently. Indeed, the works of the fathers are full of testimonies in commendation of it. EVERY WHERE, says St. Hilary, is the blood of the martyrs received, and their venerable bones bear witness ; the devils trembling before them, maladies expelled, and wonders wrought. (Contra Constant.)

“The affection which, in the cases of human friendship, a friend experiences for a friend, extends, not only to the cherished individual, but to his children and relations; and not merely to these, but even to whatever represents him, to whatever once belonged to him, or that brings back to the mind the pleasing remembrance of him. This is the dictate of the instincts of nature. And did the Protestant again weigh this, then would he likewise understand how the progress of honour is similar to that of friendship; since honour is nothing else, in reality, than affection united with fear and mingled with respect. In short, did the Protestant consider that the whole exterior worship which the Catholic cultivates, derives its origin from God alone, and returns solely to God again; did he consider this, then would he, too, conceive clearly that such worship, animated as it thus is merely by the Author of sanctity cannot possibly be displeasing to any one of his divine perfections. He would, on the contrary, conceive that if God, jealous as he is of the love of men, does yet permit them to love each other for the love of him, nor deems such love the division of our affections; just so, jealous as he likewise is of the respect and veneration of the faithful, still does he allow them also, without looking upon such act, as any partition of the worship which is due to him, to honour, *for his sake*, those happy beings, whom himself has honoured so greatly.

It is however true, that the external marks of reverence which, at different periods, the Catholic may have employed in expressing his veneration for the saints, are by no means, all of them, essential to religion. Without making any alteration in her doctrine, the Church has often extended, or abridged, her external practices; regulated in these points, by the nature of circumstances, by the character of times places and events, not wishing that her children should be servilely subjected to visible things, but by their means, be animated only to greater fervour, and admonished to turn the mind to God, in order to present to him, in spirit and truth, ‘that reasonable service,’ which he expects from all his creatures.

After this natural and simple exposition of our tenets, it is obvious, as I have remarked already, that a great part of our disputes would be prevented, or at least hushed, did men only give themselves the trouble to appreciate terms; or else, conduct themselves with Christian charity. Would the Protestant only consider calmly the above explanations, which comprise the express doctrine of the council of Trent, he would

cease to reproach us with violating the mediation of Jesus Christ ; with invoking the saints ; or honouring their images, in a way that should be appropriated to God alone. Adoration, it is true, Invocation, and the name of Mediator, do in some sense, belong only to God, and to Christ Jesus. And hence, it is easy to abuse or misapply these terms, in order to throw an odium upon our tenets. But if men would act candidly, and reduce words to the signification which I have just been giving them, then would their reproaches vanish, and their objections lose all their influence. Or, if they had any other difficulties, less important than the foregoing, to object against us, sincerity would compel them to acknowledge that they are satisfied, at least, upon the principal subjects of their prejudices and complaints.

“ At all events, certain it is, that nothing can be more unjust than the objection which is so very often urged against us, ‘ that we make piety consist in mere devotion to the saints ;’ whereas, all that the Church or the council of Trent teaches upon the subject, is simply this ; that ‘ it is good and useful to invoke their intercession.’ The design, therefore, of the Church is to condemn those who, either out of contempt, or through error, reject this act of piety. Her censure, in such cases, is wise ; because, whilst it is wrong to permit the contempt of practices which are beneficial to salvation, it is wrong likewise to tolerate, under the mere sanction of a few upstart teachers, the condemnation of a doctrine, which every age of Christianity has authorized and cultivated.

A
REMONSTRANCE,

IN A THIRD LETTER,

ADDRESSED TO

CHARLES ABEL MOYSEY, D. D.

ARCHDEACON OF BATH,

ON THE

RENEWAL OF HIS FORMER ATTACKS

UPON THE CATHOLICS

IN HIS

LATE CHARGE

TO THE

CLERGY OF THE DEANERY OF BEDMINSTER,

July the 19th, 1824.



VERY REVEREND SIR,

A printed Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Deanery of Bedminster at the Visitation of the Venerable Charles Abel Moysey, D. D. Archdeacon of Bath, June 29, 1824, and printed at their particular request, has within these few days made its appearance in this city.

It expresses the most lively apprehensions for the safety of the Established Church of England, in consequence of the rapid increase of Catholics and Dissenters, the hostility with which both these growing bodies are animated against the Establishment, and the alarming concessions which Government seems inclined to make to them, in spite of the ardent and repeated remonstrances of the Established Bishops and Clergy.

It passes some high compliments upon the latter, as the most zealous, active, learned, liberal, and disinterested body of Churchmen that ever astonished, edified, and relieved mankind; and represents to the people of England, in the most glowing colours, how sad would be their fate, should Providence, in its severity, permit them to be deprived of the spiritual guidance and protection of these incomparable pastors.

To these or any other encomiums, which you may think proper to pass upon yourselves and your brethren, I have not the

smallest objection ; nor do I wish that the people of England should undervalue your services, or think less favourable of you than they seem disposed to do. But can you not commend yourselves without vilifying your neighbours ? Cannot the pure, the enlightened, the apostolical Church of England appear in sufficient relief without throwing all the rest of the Christian world into darkness and shade ? Has truth no charms unless accompanied with falsehood ; no brightness unless encompassed with clouds of misrepresentation and abuse ?

Of the aspersions cast upon the Dissenters, I shall say nothing. Indeed the chief offence, with which you charge them, is that of endeavouring to overthrow the monopoly of honour and emolument now enjoyed by the Establishment ; a crime, to which, I dare say, they will readily plead guilty ; and for which, if others do not, neither will I condemn them. But of the violent misrepresentation and unprovoked abuse which you have thought proper to pour upon the Catholics and their religion, I shall say a few words.

You assert that the Catholic Church “ is an idolatrous and tyrannical empire, a terrible authority which blinds the consciences and tyrannizes over the mental liberties of the people ; ” that its “ modes of worship are superstitious and idolatrous,” and its doctrines a mass of “ errors and *abominations*.” You represent the Catholic Priesthood as an unprincipled and designing race of men, who, to swell the number of their proselytes, descend to “ *every art*,” even that of bribery, and to “ ensnare their hearers, explain away in public the *monstrous doctrines*” they secretly profess. You endeavour to alarm the honest credulity of the people, by assuring them that there are, in the Catholic Church, “ certain Papal edicts against all Protestants carefully kept out of sight,” but which will be brought forth and executed upon them the moment the bulwark of the Established Church is thrown down. You descend even to the use of nicknames, denominating the Roman Catholic religion *Poper*y, and its professors *Papists*, *Romanists*, &c. To complete the outrage, you earnestly recommend to the perusal of your readers a work, by a brother Archdeacon, surpassing even your own in misrepresentation, abuse, and scurrility.

I confess I am surprised at your conduct and at that of your Clergy. It is now three years since you published a Charge at their request, and I did hope it would have been the last. It produced a discussion, the results of which were certainly not favourable to yourself or your cause, and which materially

benefited that of the Catholics. It placed a Catholic Clergyman under a necessity of vindicating his religion, and induced the public to read his vindication. It enabled many well meaning Protestants to discover that their own Clergy, however respectable and deserving of credit on other accounts, are not to be trusted when they speak of the religion, from which their forefathers revolted. It led many to examine more fully into the doctrines of the Catholic religion, and to become its proselytes or its zealous defenders.

Your former misrepresentations were similar to your present ones ; something more violent. We were as criminal as the ancient Pagans on the score of idolatry, and on some points we even surpassed them in guilt. No Pagan nation ever authorised the systematic violation of oaths. That impiety was peculiar to the Catholic Church. Our Clergy were imposters and our Laity dupes, ready to break through every moral tie to promote the interests of their Church. These and many similar aspersions you poured out upon the Catholics, and you exhorted your Clergy to imitate your example, assuring them that their Ordination oaths and the safety of the purest, the most enlightened, the mildest, and most tolerant Church in Christendom obliged them to do so !

I refuted your accusations in a short pamphlet, and proved you to have asserted the most notorious mis-statements. I was answered by an anonymous publication signed " Vindex," which endeavoured to maintain most of the positions you had taken, and asserted, with the book of Homilies, not only that the great body of Christians are at the present day, but have been for thirteen hundred years " immersed in damnable idolatry of all vices most detestable to GOD and most hurtful to man ;" also that this same immense body of Christians hold the moral doctrine that promises and oaths are not binding when made to Protestants ! This production compelled me to write a *Defence of the Christian Religion during the last thirteen centuries*, in which I demonstrated that the charge of idolatry made against the Catholic Church had its origin in days of fanaticism, and was brought forward to justify the separation of England from the universal Church ; that the Church of England has since altered her opinions on the subject of images and pictures, and that she now practically agrees with the Church she forsook ; that images and pictures neither are nor ever were *worshipped* by Catholics, in the proper sense of that word, and that the Catholic Church never authorized, much less commanded, any respect to be paid to

them, which a Protestant mother does not pay to the picture of her deceased husband, or Protestant Bishops and Lords to the King's empty throne. I pointed out the unworthy artifices which were employed by yourself and Vindex to convict the Christian world of the horrid crime of idolatry; your quibbles upon the word *worship*; your garbling and misrepresentations of the doctrines of our councils, perversion of historical facts, misinterpretation of our Divines, and distortion of our religious books and practices. I adduced authorities from eminent Protestant Divines, giving the same explanations of our doctrines that I had done, and acquitting us of the charges of which, some of their virulect writers accused us.

It is evident that your character as a writer, as a clergyman, and as a man, required you to justify yourself if you could; and had my statement been capable of refutation, there was nothing so easy. I brought forward documents to prove my assertions. Nothing could be so easy, had those documents been unsatisfactory or incorrect, as to prove them so. Was this done? So far from it, the very work which had undertaken your defence, which had been ushered into notice with such unusual *eclat*, had been advertised in so many newspapers, and had figured in so many windows, was, upon the appearance of the Catholic *Defence*, suddenly withdrawn from circulation. Why was this done? Its authors felt that it would not stand the test; that its misstatements had been too glaringly exposed, and that the sincerity and truth of the Catholic statement would only appear more manifest if contrasted with the quibbles and falsehoods of the unlucky Vindex. Perhaps it was thought that a day might come when even Vindex, under a new name, might figure amongst the ghostly tracts that sneak from their graves under the patronage of the Religious Tract Society, after the occasion that gave them birth and the disgrace that attended their death have been forgotten.

Two years and a half elapsed, and no advocate for you or your ally appeared, when, behold! a brother Archdeacon, wondering that so flimsy and flippant a work as that which refuted your charges, and which was then out of print, should have made so much impression on certain weak minds, and trembling for the salvation of so many poor ignorant souls, who continued to forsake the purest Church in Christendom, and return to the idolatrous religion of their forefathers, charitably stepped forward, and presented the public with a work significantly denominated "*The Protestant's Companion*; or, a

seasonable Preservative against the Errors, Corruptions, and Unfounded Claims of a Superstitious and Idolatrous Church."!

This is the work which you so earnestly recommend in your Charge, as justifying your former, and covering your present attack. You describe it as containing the essence of Bull, Barrow, Leslie, and other ponderous champions of the Establishment, as "bringing the matter within a small compass, and stating it with irresistible perspicuity and power." It is an octavo volume of 408 pages!

Till I saw this recommendation of Archdeacon Daubeny's work, I fancied it was the spontaneous production of an aged Churchman, whose zeal prompted him to defend the cause which you had abandoned, and whose vanity made him desirous of adding the conquest of a "*Popish Bishop*" to his other literary trophies. It appears, however, that he is only acting as your ally, to finish a campaign which you as principal commander, opened with so much dignity, but which your more weighty occupations leave you not leisure to conclude. Under the former persuasion, I had designed to address an answer to the author of the "*Protestant's Companion*," without any reference to yourself, who, though the original aggressor, had, as I supposed, prudently withdrawn from the contest, and to whom I was unwilling to give the least unnecessary molestation. Your strong recommendation and adoption of Dr. Daubeny's work induce me to alter my design, and continue my correspondence with you as the original mover and principal leader in the controversy. To avoid unnecessary delay and break the tediousness of a discussion, embracing so many points of difference, I shall address it in separate letters. The following is the outline of the intended communication:

It is my intention to shew that the "*Protestant's Companion*" is not, as you assert, a concise and perspicuous statement of the difference between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England, but a huge and ill-digested compilation of whatever was most incorrect and most abusive in the old writers of the Establishment, accompanied with a violence and ferocity which animated religious combatants two centuries ago, and adorned with a coarseness and scurrility which after its present aged proprietor, it is to be hoped no one will possess. I shall prove that *on every subject he has undertaken to discuss* he has grossly and designedly misrepresented the Catholic doctrines; that like you and Vindex, he has been unable to make good his cause without falsifying history, misinterpreting the acts of councils, garbling the writings

of ancient fathers and perverting the sense of modern theologians, to a degree, which I venture to predict will astonish some of his admirers, though I do not expect it will cause himself to blush. In fine, I shall meet him on every subject, which has not been already discussed, and furnish the reader with new editions of former discussions.

The public will then be able to form a judgment between us upon the momentous questions—whether the Roman Catholic Church or the Church of England is the “One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church” mentioned in the Nicene Creed; whether the former or the latter Church is in error and schism, and to which the promises of Christ belong; whether the unrepented sins of men, of whatever degree, are in a future world, equally punished with everlasting torments, or whether there are not temporary punishments for smaller, as well as eternal punishments for greater offences; whether the Church of England is a divine or a human institution, and its establishment a relief or a burthen to the country; whether the cause of Truth is promoted by annexing to certain religious opinions all the wealth of the Church and all the favours of the State, or the peace of the country secured by making it the interest of a smaller body of Religionists to traduce and insult at pleasure an immense majority of the nation; whether this state of things is likely to last long; and whether, if the Church of England should be given up, there would be any pure Christianity in the world.

These and many other important points, suggested by the “Protestant’s Companion,” will form the subject of future letters. At present I shall direct your attention to certain minor accusations contained in your late Charge. You inform your readers (page 11) that the Catholics are at present busily and successfully employed in making proselytes to their religion; that for this purpose “every art is tried—on the poor benevolence and alms—but always accompanied with the condition of frequenting their worship.”

Had you merely asserted that alms are *sometimes* employed by Catholics for the purpose of making proselytes, or are *sometimes* accompanied with the condition you mention, it would not have been easy to contradict your statement; because it would have been as difficult for me to know what *some* Catholics might do, as it is easy for me to know what no well-instructed Catholic would do. But your assertion that Catholics *always* accompany their alms with the condition you assert, enables me to give you a positive contradiction, and to call upon you to substantiate the odious charge with even a semblance of proof.

I do not believe you can produce a single instance of a single Catholic doing *that* which you assert to be the constant practice of all. But this accusation is evidently intended to insinuate that Catholics make use of improper inducements to bring over persons to their religion, and that this is the real cause of the numerous conversions which have for some years past and still continue to swell our numbers. It may be proper therefore, to set you right on this subject: the following facts will suffice for the purpose.

In the first place, with respect to alms, Catholics are taught that in bestowing them a certain order of charity is to be observed. That if two persons are in equal distress, and one of these persons is a parent, the other a stranger, and it is not in our power to relieve both, the preference must be given to the parent; but if the other person is in *extreme distress*, whilst the distress of the parent is not *extreme*, then the former, though no relation, must be assisted in preference even to a parent. There are various other considerations, besides kindred, which amongst objects equally distressed, may entitle one to a preference: a friend, a neighbour, an inhabitant of the same town or country, would be entitled to our assistance, in cases of equal distress, before perfect strangers or the inhabitants of other climes. For the same reason, a Christian might be preferred before a Pagan; and even amongst Christians, a member of the religion to which we belong might, in cases of equal distress, be preferred before one who belonged to another religious connexion. But Catholics are taught, and I hope Protestants are taught the same, that if two objects in unequal distress present themselves, and we cannot relieve both, we must give to him who is in great want, though not of our religion, in preference to him who is in lesser need, though a brother in faith.

This doctrine I conceive to be conformable to that of St. Paul, Ephesians vi. 10, and to the dictates of right reason. The same doctrine, as thousands can testify, I have ever publicly and privately inculcated: I have, moreover, never failed to guard my hearers against all narrow-minded and sectarian distinctions in the discharge of that amiable duty, which more than any other, is to mark us as the disciples of Christ. I have constantly pressed upon their attention the lovely example of this Divine Being, who asked no questions about the religion or conduct of the children of distress, but with equal kindness imparted relief and consolation to the Jew and Samaritan, to the true believer and to the Pagan, to the virtuous and to the wicked, to the unjust, the extortioner, the adulterer, and the dying thief.

On the same principles I have endeavoured to regulate my own conduct: I have made it a rule not to ask the religion of the party applying for relief, and never in my life was I, and never I trust, shall I be guilty of an act so odious, so contemptible, and so unchristian, as to refuse relief because the distressed object was a Protestant, or grant it only as the price of hypocrisy. If a distressed object has had the honesty to tell me he was not a Catholic, I have always relieved him the more readily on that account; but I have repeatedly sent away without relief, applicants who urged their being Catholics as a plea for my relieving them, considering that persons who could urge such reasons were, in all probability, impostors, or intended to insult me. Does this conduct, which I am convinced, is the conduct of Catholics in general, merit the odious charge you have made against them? Would your own conduct, and that of your friends, bear a *stricter* scrutiny? Could you conscientiously declare, that you have always acted on the same liberal principles?

But your insinuation that Catholics use bribes to swell the number of their converts, proves how little you know of the process through which every convert to the Catholic religion is obliged to pass. You seem to suppose that a man becomes a Catholic as he becomes a member of most of the sects in this country, namely, by merely attending the Catholic worship. It may be proper to inform you of the real case. We never consider a Protestant as having become a Catholic merely by his attending the Catholic place of worship, however frequently or regularly he may do so. A man must have been admitted to our sacraments, or at least have made a solemn and deliberate profession of our faith, before we consider him a Catholic. The usual method of proceeding is this. When a Protestant has by some means or other discovered that the doctrines of the Catholic religion have been misrepresented to him, he is recommended to apply to the Catholic Priest, to know what those doctrines really are. Upon such application being made, the Catholic Priest puts a Catechism into his hands, or explains to him accurately the doctrines it contains, and the reasons upon which they are founded. This is generally a work of time. In well-informed persons a few weeks (it is very seldom less) may suffice; in ignorant persons, it is generally the work of months. The Apostles' Creed is explained article by article; the Commandments, with all the religious and moral duties they impose, relating to God, to our neighbours and to ourselves are fully and repeatedly inculcated. The nature, obligation and

necessity of prayer, sacrifice and sacraments, is clearly pointed out ; the various kinds of virtues and vices ; the difference, as far as it is known, between mortal and venial, original and actual sin : the commands of the Church, the ceremonies of religion, &c. are taught and explained. When the applicant has been made fully acquainted with every thing it is necessary for him to believe and practise, he is not immediately admitted to his profession of faith, much less to the sacraments. The Priest is bound in conscience, and never fails to satisfy himself that his convert really believes and is thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion. In cases of doubt, the convert is often encouraged to apply to the minister of some other religion, and see what arguments the latter can alledge against the doctrines taught him by his Catholic instructor. With well-informed persons I have always pursued this method, and I have ever found it the most effectual means of confirming them in the Catholic faith. They have almost invariably found that the Clergyman to whom they applied, did not even know what the Catholic doctrines were, and that all his arguments were directed against doctrines we do not hold. It has sometimes happened that the convert has been unable to determine between the positive assertions of the Protestant Clergyman that Catholics do hold such and such doctrines, and those of the Catholic Priest that they do not. In such cases I have always offered to meet the Protestant Clergyman in the presence of the convert, that the latter might see whether the same assertions would be made before me that were made before him, and that he might fairly decide for himself. In no one instance has my offer been accepted, though every advantage but that of truth lay on the other side. *Dr. Moysey knows that I have made himself this offer, and that he has suffered his parishioners to become Catholics rather than accept it.* I am ready to make him the same offer still, with respect to any convert he may choose to select.

If the convert is poor, I have never failed to represent to him, in the strongest colours, the difficulties to which his conversion would in all probability expose him. "If you look," I have said, "to any worldly advantage, you will be much mistaken. You will offend your former friends, and I cannot promise you that you will gain any new ones. If the obtaining of charity is your object, I shall never consider myself obliged to bestow upon you the smallest trifle because you are a Catholic. The Catholic body is charitable, but it is overburthened

with poor, and you will obtain less from them than you have done from the Protestants. In short, your change of religion will only injure you in this world. It will therefore be folly in you to make it for any other motive than the good of your soul and from a conviction that it is your duty to do so."

I have given similar cautions to those in better circumstances. I have asked them if they were prepared to encounter the displeasure of their friends, the loss of a parent's, brother's, sister's love; the banishment from domestic confidence; the being looked upon as fools or dupes; if they could bear the sneers, the taunts, the insulting pity of the bigoted, the illiberal and the ignorant: if their conviction of the truth of the Catholic Religion was so strong, that they considered themselves bound to follow it, to the injury of their future prospects in life; if in the rewards which religion promised in a future world, and the consolations it afforded in this, they would find a sufficient recompense for the sacrifices it would require them to make? I have recommended them to pause before they took a step, which could not without guilt be retraced; to examine into their own hearts and see if their intentions were pure, to employ their reason in the enquiry, and implore, with calm and composed, though sincere and fervent prayer, the light of Heaven to guide them. *In no one instance have I ever consented to admit a convert into the Catholic Church, till by myself or through others, I had been fully satisfied that his motives were such as I have described.*

Such are the methods I have ever pursued in making converts, and such have been the methods pursued by every Catholic Priest with whom I am acquainted. Can any thing be more fair, more candid, more favourable to the liberty of man? If a Catholic Priest believe his religion to be the only true one, (and he is an idiot if he continue in it without such conviction,) will charity allow him to be relax in inducing others to embrace it? And if his object be to lead his converts to the discovery of truth, not to ensnare them; to enable them to follow the free dictates of their conscience, not to lead them captive into error; could he pursue more effectual methods than those I have described?

If the statement I have made is not true you have the means of refuting me. You know different persons, even of your own parishioners, who have become Catholics. Let them be questioned, and if you discover that they have been withdrawn from you by alms or bribes, or unfair arguments, or by any

other means than those I have described, and that they continue in the Catholic Religion from any other motive than the conviction of its truth, I will myself assist you in the recovery of your lost sheep. I will exclude them as intruders from the Catholic fold, and tell them that they had better be good Samaritans than wicked Jews; better be sincere members of a false religion, than hypocritical members of the true one. I promise you also, that if you will mention to me a single Priest or Layman, who has resorted to the disgraceful methods you assert to be always employed by Catholics in making converts, and if the offender is within the limits of my jurisdiction, he shall be reprimanded as he deserves.

But the above mentioned are not the only “arts” of which you accuse us in making proselytes. You proceed “Every art is tried—on the poor; benevolence and alms; but always accompanied with the condition of frequenting their worship: on the rich, broad and fearless assertions of priority; assertions of apostolical authority, said to exist on their part, and of defection from Rome (our mother, as they say,) on ours. Their policy is to urge such things, and to keep the saint and image-worship, and the pretended infallibility of their head, and other such abominations, for a time, out of sight. And very lately the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation was (as is said) so explained away, in order to ensnare the hearers, as to represent that the question between us and them is *not* concerning a corporeal presence of Christ in the holy communion; but that they hold nothing except a spiritual presence to be therein; in direct defiance of the Council of Trent, the acknowledged standard of the Church of Rome.*”

To the charge of “making broad and fearless assertions of priority and apostolical authority on the part of the Catholic Church, and of defection from that church, on the part of the Church of England, I plead guilty; but shall have occasion hereafter to show abundant cause why these assertions are made. But as to the charge of keeping our “saint and image-worship, and the pretended infallibility of the Pope and such other abominations out of sight,” I must beg leave to deny it altogether; first, because our saint and image worship (as you *nickname* it) is, as I have abundantly proved,† so very similar to that of the Established Church, that there can be no possible reason why we should wish to conceal it. Secondly, because I have also

* Charge pages 11 and 12.

† See the Second Letter.

proved to you, *and you well know*,* that the infallibility of the Pope, is not an article of our faith. Thirdly, because it is absurd to talk of a Church like ours concealing its doctrines and practices, known as they are in every country of the world, and public as the sun at midday.

And now, very Reverend Sir, allow me to ask, upon what plea of justice, truth or decency, have you ventured to charge us with holding *abominable* doctrines, knowing, as you did, that one of these doctrines was admitted by many divines of your own Church† to be innocent, and that the other was not held by us at all!

You proceed: "Very lately the monstrous doctrine of Transubstantiation was (as is said) explained away, in order to ensnare the hearers," &c. Again, let me ask, could no term less harsh than that of *monstrous* be vouchsafed, by the Archdeacon of Bath, for a doctrine, which he knew to be that of so vast a proportion of the Christian world? Would it have compromised the dignity of a Church of England Divine, when speaking of the belief of such men as Fenelon, Bossuet and Sir Thomas More, to add to the epithet *monstrous* (if it must be used) some such qualification as "in my opinion, to the best of my judgment," or the like? But by whom were these monstrous doctrines so lately explained away for the purpose of ensnaring the hearers? Here, at least, we have an instance of your modesty. You were too modest to mention the name. I will spare your blushes, and relieve the curiosity of all who wish to know. I am the person. It was I who explained the doctrine of Transubstantiation; but not I trust, the *monstrous* doctrine. Nor was it my motive to *ensnare my hearers*. By what wondrous penetration did you arrive at the knowledge of my *motives*? Neither did I *explain away* the doctrine of Transubstantiation, but explained it faithfully as follows:

The Council of Trent teaches, and the whole Catholic Church believes, *that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of Jesus Christ, that is, Jesus Christ himself, is contained truly, really, and substantially, under the sensible species or*

* This is the third time that Dr. Moysey and Vindex have asserted that the infallibility of the Pope is a doctrine of the Catholic Church, though in both my former letters I informed him that it was not. See the Second Letter.

† If he doubted the accuracy of my statement, why did he not inform himself better before he repeated the mis-statement? Sir John Cox Hippley, or any well-informed Protestant Layman, would have set him right.

† Vid. Second Letter.

appearances of bread and wine. This is the Catholic doctrine of the *Real presence*.

The doctrine of *Transubstantiation* teaches, in addition, that bread and wine do not remain in the sacrament, in conjunction with the body and blood of Christ (as was taught by Luther,) but that the same consecration, which causes the body and blood to be *substantially* present, causes the *substance* of bread and wine to be no longer there.*

From this definition, it follows that *Jesus Christ himself* is present in the sacrament; not merely a *figure of him*, or only a *part of him*, as some of the Reformers taught.

But this definition does not decide any thing respecting the state in which Christ has existed, and does at present exist, *out of the sacrament*, subsequently to his resurrection from the dead, and his ascension into heaven.

On this subject, the Catholic Church believes, as I presume all Christians do, that the body of Christ, since its resurrection, is greatly changed; at least as much so as our own bodies will be changed after their resurrection. Now St. Paul informs us, that the body of man will be changed, after the resurrection, into a more spiritualized substance. "It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is raised in power; it is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." *Cor. c. 15. v. 42.*

That the body of Christ was thus changed after his resurrection, is manifest from the Gospel. It combined together some of the properties which belong to natural or mortal bodies, with others belonging to spirit, and incompatible with bodies in their mortal state. He entered the room, like a spirit, when the doors were shut, and then presented to the hands of Thomas a solid tangible substance, like a body in its natural state. He altered his appearance, or held the eyes of his beholders in such manner, that Mary Magdalen and his two disciples did not know him. He sat down at table with the latter and partook of their food, and then, like a spirit, vanished from their sight, and became invisible.

It is the body of Christ, *thus spiritualized and changed*, or, in other words, it is this *spiritual body* of Christ, which the Catholic Church believes to be present in the sacrament; not

* "Uno verbo transubstantiatio nihil addit presentiae corporis Christi, nisi *destinationem panis* virtute significationis verborum, seu quo verba Christi sint vera; et nomine Transubstantiationis nihil aliud est intelligendum." Regula Fidei, sect. 12, No. 5.



He sat down at table, &c. see page 191. and St. Luke xxiv.

the gross mortal flesh, which the people of Capernaum thought he meant to give them, when they said, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" and which Dr. Moysey, and his Established brethren, in spite of our repeated protestations, insist upon our believing.

With respect to the *manner* in which this *spiritual body of Christ* is present in the sacrament, the Catholic Church has not decided. She does not require us to believe, that even the spiritual body of Christ is present in the sacrament, *in the same state* in which it exists in heaven, at the right hand of the Father; she *allows us to suppose*, that a body in its spiritual state, like a spirit itself, may not have essentially any relation to place, or that it may have a different mode of existence in different places. Hence, all that she *requires* Catholics to believe on *this point* is, that the *spiritual body of Christ* is sa-

cramentally present in the holy Communion; or, in other words, that the body of Christ, which is now become a *spiritual body*, is, in some manner or other, conformable to the nature and intention of a sacrament, *truly, really and substantially* present in the Eucharist.*

Were I to give Dr. Moysey credit for being quite serious, when he urges these words, *truly, really and substantially present*, to prove that we believe in a gross carnal presence, like that of a mortal body, I must conclude that he is no philosopher, and that he attaches to the word *substance* the same vulgar notion which unlearned persons attach to it. But I trust I need not inform an Established Dignitary, of his literary attainments, that the word *substance*, in its philosophical and theological sense, is as applicable to spirit as to body; and that we can, with equal accuracy, speak of the *substance* of spirit as the *substance* of body. It signifies, when speaking of spirit or body in general, *that* portion of their composition which would remain, if all their properties or qualities were removed. When speaking of individual spirits, or individual bodies, the word *substance* signifies *that* portion of their composition which is essential to their being what they are, *every other property and quality* being removed from them.

What the nature of this *substance* is, whether in its general or individual acceptation, we are wholly ignorant, and must remain so till we are gifted with other faculties than those we now possess. All we know either of spirit or body are their properties or qualities, and of these we know so little, that we cannot with certainty determine whether any, or which of them, are essential to constitute the Being in which they reside†

* The following are the words of the Council of Trent :

“Principio docet sancta synodus et aperte ac simpliciter profiteretur in almo sanctæ Eucharistiæ sacramento post panis et vini consecrationem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, verum Deum atque hominem, vere realiter ac substantialiter, sub specie illarum rerum sensibilibus contineri : nec enim hæc inter se pugnant, ut ipse Salvator noster semper ad dexteram patris in cœlis assideat juxta modum existendi naturalem; et ut multis nihilominus aliis in locis sacramentaliter præsens sua substantia nobis adsit, ea existendi ratione, quam etsi verbis exprimere vix possumus, possibilem tamen esse Deo, cogitatione per fidem illustrata, assequi possumus et constantissime credere debemus.”—*Sessio, xiii. cap. 1.*

Hence Verron's *Régula Fidei* concludes.

“Non solum corpus Christi sub symbolis potest dici spirituale, et ipsemet Christus spiritus, sed etiam sub symbolis spirituali modo seu spiritualiter, et non animali nec corporali modo, seu corporaliter seu carnaliter.—*Sect. 11. No. 2*

† “Of the nature of this matter all philosophers are equally ignorant : for, as Mr. Harris says, it is in truth *form*; or, as modern philosophers would say,

Nothing can demonstrate more clearly the total ignorance under which we labour, respecting the nature of bodies, than the endless variety of opinions which the ablest philosophers and divines have adopted, and the very little agreement that subsists amongst them. Amongst the rest one eminent Bishop of the Established Church* has maintained that bodies are nothing more than a collection or combination of certain properties; and another† no less eminent, has maintained that bodies have no existence at all, except in the Divine mind, and that our perceptions of bodily qualities are all the effect of the immediate agency of the Deity upon our minds,

But if such is our ignorance respecting the nature of bodies of their earthly and mortal state, how much more ignorant may we be supposed to be, respecting bodies in a glorified and spiritualized state! To believe that the substance of such a body *may* be present, though unaccompanied with its usual, or with any *sensible* properties, is certainly not repugnant to the principles of philosophy: to assert that it *cannot* be present, without such properties, betrays equal ignorance and presumption. To pronounce that the belief is *monstrous*, upon whatever reasons it is founded, is characteristic of the modesty and science of the Archdeacon of Bath. But to proceed.

It is manifest to our senses, that after the consecration of the bread and wine, the *sensible* properties which meet the sight, the taste, the touch, &c. are *not* changed, or at least that the same effects continue to be produced upon our senses that were produced before.‡ It is equally manifest that the *sensible* properties belonging to the natural body of Christ are *not* present

they are in truth *qualities*, which are the whole that we either hear, or see, or feel, or of which we have either idea or conception. Mr. Locke says expressly ‘that if any one will examine himself concerning the notions of pure substance in general, he will find that he has no other idea of it at all, only a supposition of he knows not what support of such qualities as are capable of producing simple ideas in us.’ Encyc. Brit. Metaphysics, No. 148.

“The things then immediately perceived by us, or of which we have an adequate idea or conception, are only qualities that must belong to a subject; and all that we know about the subject is, that it is that to which such qualities belong. For this is evident, that our notion of matter, as distinguished from its qualities, is a relative and obscure notion, and must remain obscure till men have other faculties.” Ibid. No. 150.

* Dr. Law, bishop of Carlisle.

† Dr. Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne.—“Dr. Reid himself, the ablest of all Dr. Berkeley’s opponents, frankly acknowledges, that no man can show, by any good argument, that all our sensations might not have been as they are, though no body or quality of body had ever existed.” Metaphysics, No. 163.

‡ “It is certainly possible that the Supreme Being, without the instrumentality of matter, should communicate to our minds all the sensations and notions from which we infer the reality of solid substance.” Metaphysics, No. 172.

to our senses. The change, therefore, that has been made in the elements, must be in their invisible *substance* or *essence*, not in their external qualities. Hence the Council of Trent defined, that the body of Christ is *substantially* present in the sacrament, that is to say, that it is present as to *substance* or *essence*, not as to its *usual* qualities or properties.

For the same reason we are taught that when the visible part of the sacrament, viz. what appears to be bread and wine, is broken, or divided, the invisible essence of the sacrament, viz. Christ, is not broken, nor divided, nor in any way changed; and that whilst the former is eaten and nourishes our bodies, like ordinary food, the latter being of a spiritual and heavenly manner, for the nourishment and refreshment of our souls.* nature, is eaten after a spiritual and heavenly. In fact, the intention of Jesus Christ, in giving himself to us in this most, holy and adorable sacrament, was not to feed our mortal bodies and increase our animal strength, but to impart to both our bodies and souls, by an ineffable union with himself a principle of spiritual life, and strength, and immortality. It was to shew the ardour of his love for us, by making us, as it were one with himself, that we may live by him and he in us, till we arrive at that still more perfect and eternal union, which we shall enjoy with him in heaven. “He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.—As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me.—This is that bread which came down from heaven: not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead: he that eateth of this bread shall live for ever.” —*St. John vi. 56, &c.*†

* “Totum quod diximus de corpore spiritali et modo illo spiritali existendi sub speciebus potest etiam ob id dici de receptione et manducatione, scilicet Christum manducari, ut sacramentaliter ex concilio, ita spiritaliter et spiritali modo et non carnaliter seu carnali modo, ore tamen corporis. Patent hæc ex se ex dictis et applicari hic faciliè possunt. Manducare corporali modo et carnali sue corporaliter et carnaliter est manducare ad modum quo manducamus carnes alias scilicet masticando et dividendo carnem in ore, palato gustando ejus saporem, &c. Non sic manducamus Christum ergo nec corporaliter, nec carnaliter, nec corporal et carnali modo, sed spiritali et spiritaliter. Adde etiam effectum manducationis corporalis et corporaliter, esse nutritionem corporis; at vero effectum manducationis Christi esse gratiam per modum refectionis animæ, id est vegetantem et roborantem animam in operationibus vitæ spiritalis, et sic esse refectionem et nutritionem animæ nostræ, quæ est spiritus; ergo etiam inde scilicet ex effectu, potest dici manducatio spiritalis et non corporalis seu non carnalis seu non carnaliter, et corporaliter, in dicto sensu.” *Ibid* No. 3. Regula Fidei, sect. II. No. 2.

† Sumi autem voluit sacramentum hoc, tamquam spiritualem animarum cibum, quo alantur et confortentur viventes vita illius qui dixit: qui manducat me et ipse vivet propter me: et tamquam antidotum, quo liberemur a

Such is the doctrine of the Catholic Church as explained by me “on a very late occasion,” as well as on many former ones. Of our reasons for believing it I have spoken elsewhere, and shall at present say nothing.* Let us now see what is the doctrine of the Church of England, as declared in her Articles and explained in her Catechism.

The twenty-eighth Article says, that “the supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves, one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christ’s death; insomuch, that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith receive the same, the bread which we break is a partaking of the body of Christ, and likewise the cup of blessing is a partaking of the blood of Christ.

“The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the manner by which the body of Christ is received and eaten in the supper, is faith.”

The explanation of this cautious and accommodating article, as given in the Catechism of the Church of England, is as follows:

“*Question.*—What is the outward part or sign of the Lord’s supper?

“*Answer.*—Bread and wine, which the Lord commanded to be received.

“*Question.*—What is the inward part or thing signified?

“*Answer.* The body and blood of Christ, *which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s supper.*

“*Question.*—What are the benefits, whereof we are partakers thereby?

“*Answer.*—The strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the bread and wine.”

Such is the doctrine of the Church of England. Now, Sir, you are aware that the words of both the Articles and the Catechisms have been variously explained by your own bishops and divines. Indeed, so various are the explanations given and tolerated in the Church of England on this most important subject, that I have not had the good fortune to meet with two

culpis quotidianis, et a peccatis mortalibus præservemur. Pignus præterea id esse voluit futuræ nostræ gloriæ et perpetuæ felicitatis adeoque symbolum unius illius corporis ejus ipse caput existit: cuique nos tanquam membra arctissima, fidei, spei, et caritatis connexionem, astrictos esse voluit, ut id ipsum omnes diceremus nec essent in nobis schismata.” Concil. Trident: Ses: xiii, c. 2.

* See a Sermon preached at Taunton on the Eucharistic sacrament and sacrifice, &c., by the Author.

which perfectly agree. Some have gone so far as to maintain that when the catechism says, that *the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper*, it means that mere bread and wine are eaten in remembrance of the death of Christ; that Christ is not present in the sacrament at all, unless the receiver think of him, and that then he is present only as any thing else is present when we think of it. Bishop Hoadley says, that if this is not the meaning of the Catechism, he is unable to say what is.*

He has many followers in these days of increasing light and liberality. But most of your old divines, and perhaps most of your more orthodox modern ones, maintain a *real presence of Christ* in the sacrament of some kind or other; and the Established Church is not nice with them, provided they are always ready to swear that transubstantiation is idolatry.† But supposing that some bishop or dignitary of the Established Church, exercising the liberty of opinion assumed by and conceded to the lowest of her freeborn children, should reason as follows, what would be his fate?

“The Catechism says, ‘that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper,’ therefore I conclude, that the body and blood of Christ must be *verily and indeed present* in the sacrament, and therefore that there must be a real presence of the body and blood, or in other words, a *real bodily presence*.”

“But the article declares ‘that the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the sacrament only after a heavenly and spiritual manner,’ therefore I conclude, that the *body of Christ is present only after a heavenly and spiritual manner*.”

“Again the Catechism teaches, that the outward part or

* “This passage in the Catechism will, I think, lead us to the only consistent sense of the words we are now considering; which, I own, are very figurative, where a figure ought rather to have been explained than made use of. . . The faithful are said verily and indeed to take and receive the body and blood of Christ; because *believers* alone, coming as such, eat his body and drink his blood *indeed*, or in that very sense in which he appointed them to do it; viz. by eating *bread* and drinking *wine* in a thankful and serious remembrance of his natural body broken and blood shed. . . If this be not the sense of this passage, I own myself unable to say what is.” Account of the nature and end of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, by Benj. Hoadley, bishop of Winchester.

† Archdeacon Daubeny will not allow Bishop Hoadley to have been orthodox on this point. “Bishop Hoadley's book (says he), on the sacrament, is not considered by the Church of England to be a standard for her doctrine.” He adds, “The difference between the two Churches of England and Rome is not about the real presence itself, but about the manner of it.” Protestant's Companion, pages 77 and 78.—We shall discuss the Archdeacon's system in a future letter.

sign of the Lord's supper is bread and wine, and that the inward part or thing signified in the body and blood of Christ, '*which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper.*' Hence I conclude, that the sacrament consists of two parts, an external and internal part. Now all material objects are known to consist of two parts; an external part which we see, feel, taste, &c. which is called its qualities or accidents, and an internal part which we can never either see, or feel, or taste, which is called its *substance*. So far the sacrament agrees with all other external objects. I conclude, therefore, that when the Catechism says that the outward part of the sacrament is bread and wine, it means that the *outward properties of bread and wine*, namely, all that we ever see, as it is, or feel in bread or wine, not the inward substance of bread and wine, which, in fact, we never either see, or taste, or feel. First, because it would be incorrect to call *that* an outward sign, which is inward and imperceptible to the senses: and secondly, because in that case, the sacrament, different from all other external objects, would consist of three parts; one external, namely the properties of bread and wine, and two internal parts, namely, the internal substance of bread and wine, and the internal substance of the body of Christ.

"In the next place, I conclude that the bread and wine, when they become the sacrament, must undergo a certain change, not of properties, for these evidently continue the same; but a change of *substance*, with the nature of which substance we are wholly unacquainted, and which, as it is never subject to any of our senses, may be withdrawn or changed by the Creator without our perceiving it, as he pleases.

"Moreover, as it is evident that the external properties of the body of Christ are not present in the sacrament, and that if they were, the sacrament, different from all other objects, would consist of three parts; namely, the external properties of bread, the external properties of the body of Christ, and the internal substance of the latter; therefore I conclude that when the Catechism says that the inward part of the sacrament is the body and blood of Christ, it means only the inward substance or essence of this body and blood, which mode of existing the article denominates *spiritual and heavenly*, because different from its natural and earthly mode. Or perhaps, the article may employ the words *heavenly and spiritual* to intimate that the body of Christ being, since his resurrection, in a spiritual and glorified state, its substance in the sacrament is of a more refined and spiritual nature than that of mortal bodies; or, perhaps, it wishes to teach us that the substance of a spiritual body,

like the substance of spirit itself, may have no essential reference to place, or may be present in different places, in a different state, conformably to the reason or object of its presence. My belief, therefore, drawn from the Articles and Catechism of my Church, is this :

“First.—That the external part of the sacrament is the usual properties of bread and wine.

“Secondly, that the inward part is the body and blood of Christ, which being verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful, are verily and indeed present in the sacrament; not, indeed, as to their external properties, but merely their internal substance; which internal substance being of a spiritual and heavenly nature, strengthens and refreshes our souls, according to the words of the Catechism, in like manner as our bodies are refreshed by the external and bodily properties of the bread and wine.

“Thirdly.—That whereas, before the consecration of the elements, their internal part was merely the substance of bread and wine, but is afterwards the body and blood of Christ, it is evident that a change of substance has taken place, and that it may be truly said, that in the sacrament the bread and wine are in truth and reality changed as to substance; or in other words, are truly, really, and substantially changed into the body and blood of Christ.”

Suppose, I say, that some bishop or dignitary of the Established Church, taking the Articles and Catechism into his hands, and exerting as others have done, his best endeavours to discover their real meaning, should affix to them the meaning which I have supposed, what would be his fate? Would he be treated as a fool or an ideot? Is there any power in the Church of England to degrade or suspend a bishop who should give such an explanation of the Articles and Catechism? Could he not preach, and write, and print it with impunity? Could he be excluded from his seat in the House of Lords, if he there maintained it? Or could he deprive of his care of souls any clergyman who held the opinion? If he could, where is the boasted liberty of the reformation? And by what law or canon could he do it? If he could not, then is the above-mentioned opinion consistent with the doctrines of the Established Church? Yet it is neither more nor less than the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation; the doctrine, which, however vilified and misrepresented by the reformers of England, every Catholic in the world believes to be the truth, which he cannot abjure without

violating his conscience, nor profess in this free, liberal, and enlightened nation, without being abused and insulted by the Established Clergy, ridiculed by the most ignorant of the people, and excluded by the Government from the liberties of his country!

Shall I be told that no clergyman of the Established Church would be foolish enough to put such an interpretation upon the meaning of the Articles and the Catechism? Then it must be that the intellects of the Established Clergy are brighter than those of other persuasions; for as far as my judgment goes, the above-mentioned explanation is the most natural and consistent one which can be put upon the articles and Catechism, and one, which I have reason to suspect the framers of those Articles intended should be put by all who liked it; and why should not I say with Bishop Hoadley, "if this be not the sense of the Catechism, I am unable to say what is?"

But be the explanation ever so foolish, or, as you express it, so *monstrous*, still if there should happen to be a bishop or priest of the Establishment as sparingly gifted as his Catholic brethren, he may hit upon it, and in that case it becomes the allowed doctrine of the Church of England, which she has neither right to condemn, no power to repress. It is true she may put to such bishop or priest, on certain occasions, the declaration against Transubstantiation; but what shall prevent him from understanding that word in the gross, carnal sense, which the Jews at Capharnaum, and the Archdeacons of Bath and Sarum have affixed to it, or understanding it even in the Catholic sense, what shall prevent him from adopting Archdeacon Paley's explanation, and taking the oath, not as a declaration against any particular doctrine, but as a general protest against the inconveniences of Popery? In either case, the King, the Archbishop of Canterbury, or any of or all the dignitaries of the Established Church may, with perfect safety to their souls in a future life, and the full enjoyment of their honours and comforts in this, believe maintain, and teach a doctrine for *believing* which, the unfortunate Catholic is declared incapable of present and future comfort, excluded from the pale of the British Constitution and condemned of ignorance by the Archdeacon of Bath!

And after all, may there not be many persons in the Church of England, who, without knowing or suspecting it, believe as we believe? The positive words of the institution, the declaration of the Article and Catechism, the repeated assertions of certain churchmen of the Establishment, that the Church of England

believe *a real presence*, the solemn forms of the Liturgy, its repeated cautions and admonitions to the communicants, and its solemn comminations against the unworthy receiver, declaring to him in the words of St. Paul, that “he eats and drinks his own damnation, not discerning the Lord’s body;” these and many similar considerations, which constantly meet the ear and the eye of the members of the Church of England, point too clearly to the real Catholic doctrine to be easily understood in any other sense. To convert all these positive declarations of *a real presence of Christ* into mere figures of speech, or to understand how this Divine Being, who is essentially composed of body, soul and divinity, can be present in the sacrament, and yet this body, soul and divinity not be there, even in *a spiritual or sacramental manner*, requires more acuteness than I must own I possess, or than I suspect, is possessed by many members of the Church of England, as sincere and not more gifted than myself,

And yet it is melancholy to think that these very persons, actually believing the Catholic doctrine, though little suspecting that they do, and supposing *that* doctrine to be the hideous thing which the Established Clergy represent it, do, in order to qualify themselves for seats in the Senate, or offices in the State, or dignities in the Church, solemnly call God to *witness* that they *do not believe* in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and that they *do believe* the sacrifice of the mass, *as now used in the Church of Rome*, to be superstitious and idolatrous !*

Should not considerations so awful induce those who are liable to take these oaths to inform themselves well, before they venture conditionally to abjure the protection of their Creator, what the Catholic doctrine really is; particularly when they find that such extraordinary ignorance prevails on this subject, even amongst the clergy, that two learned Archdeacons of the Established Church, hearing a Catholic Bishop give a plain, simple statement of the doctrine of his Church, as understood and believed by the whole Catholic world, did not hesitate to accuse that Bishop of being ignorant of the doctrines of his re-

* The declaration against Popery by the 30 C. 2. st. 2. e. 1. “I, A, B. do solemnly and sincerely, in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare, that I do believe, that in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, *there is not any Transubstantiation* of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, at or after the consecration thereof, by any person whatsoever; and that the invocation, or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other Saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass *as they are now used in the Church of Rome*, are superstitious and idolatrous.” !! What an awful oath to exact from the ignorant, illiterate and unreflecting!

ligion, or of wishing “to explain them away for the purpose of ensnaring his hearers.”*

Yet both these learned and zealous Clergymen, before they could fill their high stations, did solemnly take the oath against *Transubstantiation*; the meaning of which they ought carefully to have explained to such of their flocks as were liable to take these frightful tests, but which it now appears they did not themselves understand!

I have noticed that you accuse the Catholics of *idolatry*, in your present as well as former Charge. In the former you rested your proofs wholly on the respect we pay to the saints and their representations. You now rest them wholly on the adoration we pay to Christ in the sacrament. The most admirable quality of your present demonstration of this most weighty charge, about which others have written volumes, is its extreme conciseness. It is compressed *into one half line*.† You adduce a short quotation from the Council of Trent, stating that true *Latria* is due to the sacrament, and you add “This is quite enough to prove the charge of idolatry to the full.” I hope not; for if our idolatry is so easily proved, the Lord have mercy on us, it must be stupid indeed. I regret that you did not read three lines farther in the Council of Trent, before you closed the book and settled the point. I think you might have settled it differently; I trust you would have allowed us *some* chance of escape. In the words immediately following those which you quote as directing divine adoration to be given to the sacrament, the Council adds the reason, namely, “because we believe Christ our Lord and God to be really present in it, who is not less deserving of our adoration, because he presents himself to us as our spiritual food.” Hence the canon of the Council founded upon the chapter you quote, defines “*that Christ the only begotten Son of God, is to be adored in the sacrament.*” It is, therefore, clear that the object of our adoration is Jesus Christ himself. Indeed we believe the sacrament to contain nothing else. But *why* are we idolaters? Dr. Daubeny declares, that the Church of England believes Christ to be *really present* as firmly as we do. If so there can be no idolatry in adoring him. If you do not adore him, I consider it certain that you do not believe him to be present, and that all these positive assertions of his being *really present* and being “*verily and indeed taken and recei-*

* Dr. Daubeny charges me with having “introduced a new-fangled doctrine [for the invention of which I may justly claim the patent],” Protestant’s Companion, page 81.

† Charge, page 12. in the note:

ved by the faithful," are but so many "equivocations and mental reservations" to make the people suppose that you believe what you do not, and habituate them to the use of scripture phrases stripped of their meaning. Either then adore Christ in the Eucharist, or at once candidly acknowledge that you do not believe him to be present, and say honestly, with Bishop Hoadley, that the sacrament after all is mere bread and wine.

But supposing that Christ is not really present in the sacrament, are we not then idolaters? Certainly not; for whether he is there or not, still *He* and *He alone* is the subject to which our adoration is directed. I grant that if any Catholic should say, "it is my intention to adore *that substance upon the altar, whether it be Christ or not*," and it happened not to be Christ, he would be guilty of idolatry. But such an idea never enters the mind of any Catholic. His intention is simply to adore Christ.* He believes Christ to be present under the sacramental species, and he adores him there. But should he happen not to be present, through the priest's forgetting to consecrate, or from any other cause, the only thing with which the adorer could be charged would be a mistake as to the *presence* of the object he adores, not as to the object itself. If the blind man after receiving his sight, had by a mistake of persons, worshipped St. Peter instead of Christ, would he have been guilty of idolatry?

Perhaps you are not aware how much more consistent than yourselves many of your most eminent bishops and divines have been, who considered the adoration of Christ in the Eucharist as a necessary consequence of his presence. Perhaps you little suspect that several of them have anticipated our defence against your *half-line* demonstration. The celebrated Dr. Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down, thus defends us: "The object of their (the Catholics') adoration in the sacrament is the only true and living God, hypostatically united with his holy humanity, which humanity they believe actually present under the veil of the sacrament; and if they thought him not present they are so far from worshipping the bread, that they profess it idolatry to do so. This is a demonstration that the soul has nothing in it that is idolatrical; the will has nothing in it but what is a great enemy to idolatry." Bishop Forbes goes still farther.

* "Quis Catholicorum, hæc objecta adorationis sub speciebus somniavit? Nullus sane: et pestifere somniaret: nec adoramus *aliquid subsistens indefinite, quidquid illud sit, sub speciebus*, sed solum Christum creditum ibi esse." Regula Fidei, sect. 13. n. 1.

† Liberty of Prophecy, sect. 20.

“The sounder Protestants (says he) make no *doubt* of adoring Christ in the Eucharist; for in receiving the Eucharist he is to be adored with *true Latria*.” He adds, that “it is a *monstrous error* of the more rigid Protestants, who deny that Christ is to be adored with any thing more than an internal and mental adoration, and not by any external act of worship.”* But I have an authority still in reserve, which I feel convinced will induce you to withdraw your condemnation, if not cause you to join us in our worship. Bishop Andrews informs us not only that he himself worshipped with (St.) Ambrose *the flesh of Christ* in the mysteries;† but that *King James the First*, that most learned and most theological of all the heads of the Church of England, “declared that *Christ is truly present, and is to be truly adored* in the sacrament.”‡

I am curious to know what will be your next proof of our idolatry.

I trust that the reader and yourself will now be satisfied, that you formed a decision more hasty than either modest or correct, when you asserted that my doctrine respecting a spiritual presence was “in direct defiance of the Council of Trent.” You adduce, indeed, two passages to prove your assertion; but unfortunately, you mistranslate one and misinterpret the other. You assert that the Council condemns those who hold that Christ is present only in “symbol, or in figure, or *in spirit*.” The words of the Council are, in symbol, or in figure, or *in power*, that is, in effects: “ut in signo, vel figura, aut *virtute*.” You say the Council *curses* those who say “that Jesus Christ is received in the sacrament *only spiritually*, and not sacramentally and *really*,” but then it explains, in the same passage, what it means by *spiritually*. It tells you, that by receiving Christ *spiritually*, it means in the passage alluded to, receiving him *in desire*; or in other words, endeavouring to be united with him by *faith* and *love*, when it is not in our power to receive him in the sacrament.‡ Had you read the Council, you could not have made these mixtakes, for I will not suppose them to be wilful misrepresentations.

I wish I could make the same remark respecting a petty attack you make upon the phraseology of this Council, where you say, that in 1551 the Council of Trent “formerly anathematized [in plain English cursed and devoted to perdition] those

* De Eucharistia, lib. 2. c. 2.

† Answer to Bellarmine, c. 8. See on this subject Bishop Milner’s *End of Religious Controversy*, and an *Essay towards a Proposal for Catholic Communion*.

‡ See Council: Trident. Sess. xiii. c. 8.

who held certain doctrines." I had hoped that these little and illiberal and uncanded artifices, to inspire the illiterate multitude with a vulgar horror of the Catholic Church, had been abandoned to field preachers and writers of religious tracts. I am sorry to see them linger with even one dignitary of the Establishment. Can I then suppose you so ignorant of the forms of spiritual censures, ancient and modern, as not to know or condemn the meaning of the terms *ἀνάθεμα ἐστίν*, *anathema sit*? Read, then, a lay writer of your own Church (Selden de Synedriis, book 1st, chapter 8), and he will tell you that this form of censure is more ancient than Christianity; and that "*there is no one who does not know that it was employed by the Christian Church in the primitive ages*" (alas! he little thought how profoundly unknowing future Archdeacons could be); that it is repeatedly employed by St. Paul himself; and that it is nearly equivalent in meaning to *excommunication*, and consequently to the corresponding termination of the Canons of the Church of England. The Catholic Church says, "If any one denies the real presence, or transubstantiation, let him be *anathema*;"* and the Church of England says, "Whosoever shall affirm that any of the Thirty-nine Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, let him be excommunicated, *ipso facto* and not resorted, but *only by the Archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of such his wicked errors.*"† I said above that the Catholic *anathema* was nearly equivalent to the Protestant *excommunication*; it is not so severe; because, as Selden and every other writer on the subject will inform you, the term *excommunication* alone comprises all the evils to the full implied by the term *anathema*. The *ipso facto* of your excommunication, and *public revocation of the wicked errors*, and restoration *only by the Archbishop*, are considerable aggravations, and render the Protestant *excommunication* so much more severe than the Catholic *anathema*.

But the fact is, the Catholic form, whatever its import, was borrowed by the Church from St. Paul, and is used in the same manner, and with the same meaning, as the Apostle used it. St. Paul said (Galat, c. i. v. 9), "if any man preach any other gospel to you than that you have received *let him be anathema*;" or, as the English translation has it, "*let him be accursed,*"

The Apostle passed this condemnation on certain reformers of those days, who professed to give the Galatians a purer system of faith than they had received from him. Hence when-

* Council of Trent, session 13, canons 1 and 2

† Constitution and Canons Ecclesiastical, canon 5.

ever any similar reformers have risen up in subsequent ages, and introduced among the faithful similar improvements on the *received belief*, the Catholic Church has always applied to them the *anathema* of St. Paul. Whether the Apostle meant to "*curse and devote to perdition*" these teachers of new doctrines, I will not presume to decide: I leave him and you to settle this point between you. If he did, it shews very clearly that he considered the teaching of new doctrines a most grievous crime, and justifies the Church in carefully adopting, through every age, the means he proposed for suppressing the evil. But if St. Paul did not mean to "*curse and devote to perdition*" the Galatian reformers, neither did the Council of Trent mean to "*curse and devote to perdition*" the reformers of these days.

But the object of this little attack is something more than at first meets the eye. You evidently wish to persuade the people, and perhaps you really think, that Catholics hate and wish evil to those who are not of their communion, and that they would, if they were able, persecute all Protestants in this world, and devote them to perdition in the next." It is thus the established Clergy in former days, and the high churchmen and field preachers of these, continue to slander the great body of Christian believers. May God forgive you, if there is malice at your heart, or enlighten your mind, if your conduct proceed from pure ignorance. Heaven forbid that I should condemn you, or prescribe limits to human blindness, or forestall the judgments of God on any human creature.

But can you persuade yourself that the uncharitable judgments you form of *so many hundred millions* of your fellow Christians could be justifiable, even if confined within the secrets of your own breast? In publishing these judgments to the world, and endeavouring to instil into other hearts the deadly aversion that rankles in your own, have you no fears that you may be still more guilty? We live in an enlightened age—all, *except Papists*, are much wiser than their forefathers—the bounderies of science are become almost unlimited—scarcely are the mysteries and secrets of the third heaven placed beyond our reach. In such an age, cannot a learned Archdeacon, who thinks it his duty to speak of Catholic doctrines, by any means discover what those doctrines are? The public libraries are full of our books of instruction, our clergy are known and public characters, our places of worship are open to all the world, and public explanations of our doctrines are given weekly to all who choose to hear them. You are met daily in the streets by Ca-

tholics of every rank and condition, from the Earl Marshal of England to the ragged charity schoolboy, any one of whom, if asked, would satisfy you that we do not hold the strange and barbarous opinions with which you charge us; any one of whom would tell you, that to love every human being as himself, whatever his religion, is the next great duty after loving God; and that to hate or wish evil to any one whomsoever is a deadly crime. With such opportunities of getting rid of your injurious prejudices, can you be justified in cherishing and propagating them? Be assured the days will come, when it will scarcely be believed that honest, upright and honourable men could have believed and acted in our regard as you have done.

But what is the real cause of this marvellous ignorance, if ignorance it is, which adduces you to continue the persecutor and false accuser of your Catholic brethren? A cause there must be for every effect; and the only one that I can think of, in the present instance, is the terror with which you are evidently inspired for the safety of the *Establishment* in this country. You see the Church of England going rapidly down, and it seems to me that you catch at any thing to save her. You see the *sectaries*, as you call them, hemming you in on every side, and reducing you every day within narrower limits; whilst the Catholic body, which a few years ago was almost unknown in the country, or known only to be trampled upon and despised, has risen up beside you like a giant, with more than one-third of the population of the empire at its back, and so fenced and supported by public opinion, and the truth and justice of its cause, that neither penal laws can be re-enacted against it, nor *fair* arguments found to check its growing greatness. Already your bewildered imagination beholds "Papal edicts ready to be enforced against all Protestants," the Established Clergy of England deprived of their enormous wealth, and "*Popish Bishops*" and Popish Archdeacons marching in solemn procession into the Cathedrals which their forefathers erected, and which, for almost three hundred years have wondered what had befallen them. No wonder that, thus impressed, you make feverish and ill-guided attacks upon the Catholics. No wonder that you sieze the same weapons to defend your Establishment in its decrepitude, which guarded its cradle, and made its manhood terrible. I submit to your own serious reflection, and to the judgment of every unprejudiced reader, whether this state of things is not the real cause which makes you find it so difficult to learn the Catholic Catechism?

In the agitation of your alarm you overlook, as generally

happens, your real danger : and whilst you combat an imagined foe, neglect one who is about to scale your walls. Your brother of Sarum has told you, that the Sectaries of England are a heterogeneous mass of heretics and schismatics, “without altar, without priesthood,”* or any vital connection with the Church of Christ ; whilst, you yourself admit, that a decided and settled hostility to the Established Church animates the whole of this great and growing body. Here are dangers, indeed, both spiritual and temporal. Yet such is your terror of the Catholic Church, that you now offer to make a league with these very Dissenters against her, as against a common enemy. In the most earnest manner you call upon them to assist you. With the most pathetic feeling you exclaim, “would that our Dissenting brethren would think on this ! Would that they would consider how little of that toleration which they now enjoy would be allowed, or ever has been allowed by the Papal Church.” I need not, I am sure, tell the Dissenters to look at the toleration of Catholic France, or to find in the world a Catholic country, where a *small minority*, as in England, exclude from civil privileges, on the score of religious opinions, the *great majority of the nation*. I need not remind the Dissenters that if they or we do not still smart under all the rigour of the most barbarous penal code that ever disgraced a christian country, it is because the Church of England has not been able to prevent its partial repeal. I need not remind them that to *our* degradation alone does she owe her greatness, and that she has no hopes of a continuance of her prosperity but in the continuance of our misfortunes. When did the Church of England grant to the Catholics or the Dissenters *one* willing boon ? When did government grant such boon, and the Church of England not cry out that her existence was endangered !

There is one consolation which, I hope, I may afford you. You fear and almost predict the Catholic Church will again become the Established Church of England. Be assured no such event will ever take place. In Ireland, on some future day, *perhaps*, it may ; and if any religion must be established in that unhappy country, it ought to be in the Catholic religion ; because this is the religion of the great majority of the nation. But for the same reason, the Catholic religion neither ever can or ever ought to be the established religion of England ; for the majority of the English nation will never again be Catholic. The history of past ages does not, I believe, furnish a single

* On the nature, progress, and consequence of Schism, page 261. and *passim*.

example of a nation being favoured with the grace of a second conversion, after having so universally and for so long a time abandoned its primitive faith. Your own judgment, indeed, may convince you how limited, in a country like this, must be the progress of a Church, which exacts so long and tedious a process for the admission of its proselytes, and requires of the latter so much faith, so much sincerity, so much courage and resolution, as I have shown, are required in this country for becoming a Catholic. The prejudices of early instruction, the pride of the human heart, the influence of passion and interest, a growing indifference to religious truth and the corresponding growth of Unitarianism and unbelief, will, for ages to come, continue to prevent the great mass of the English people from even looking into the merits of the Catholic religion. A comparatively small number will, however, always be found, who preferring the happiness of a future life to the interests and enjoyments of this, will seek only for the truth, and will find it in the religion of their forefathers. The relaxation of the remaining penal laws, the spread of education, and perhaps, the change of names between the Sectaries and the Church of England, would, by diminishing the difficulties of conversion, considerably increase the numbers of our converts. In the mean time, perhaps the next greatest advantage that can be conferred upon the Catholic cause, are the favourable opportunities which such high Churchmen as the Archdeacons of Bath and Sarum afford to Catholic writers to make the public acquainted with our real doctrines, and to expose the misrepresentation under which our religion has been so long obscured.

I shall now, very Reverend Sir, take my leave of you for a while. Towards the beginning of November, you may expect to hear from me again, on the first and most important subject discussed in Archdeacon Daubeny's "*Protestant's Companion*," viz. *WHICH is the true or Catholic Church of Christ, and WHO are its ministers*; or, as that elegant writer politely expresses it, "*On the usurped supremacy of the Pope, and the boasted universality of the Church of Rome.*"

In the mean time, I have the honour to remain,

Very Reverend Sir, Your obedient Servant,

PETER AUGUSTINE BAINES.

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